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ABSTRACT

A comparative case study of education and work programs was conducted from an anthropological frame of reference to determine how each sets up a program culture for learners to achieve program goals. Three variables structured into the original research design of the project were (1) the length of the program; (2) the type of community served, and (3) the socio-academic characteristics of the students served. Results of the study indicate that leadership and faculty tenure seem to have a stabilizing effect on the length of the program; availability of public transporatation and time commitment required by the program coordinator to adequately supervise students in a large geographical area vary by community type; and that the traditional role of education as a conduit to vertical class mobility should be considered in the placing and processing of experiences with respect to socio-academic student characteristics. Results indicate that while the four education and work programs represented diverse responses to local needs and local resources, they all shared three characteristics: an orientation toward the economic institutions of the community; the inclusion of a learning component; and the awarding of academic credit or pay. Two other areas of concern identified were the additional responsibility students with psycho-social problems placed on the program and the unique socio-cultural problems of the role of the work sponsor. (MEK)

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LEARNING AND WORK PROGRAMS:
TRANSITIONAL EDUCATIVE CULTURES

Research and Development Series No. 199

by

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with assistance from
Marcia Rose

Learning-in-Work Research Program

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1979

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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FOREWORD

The educational process of assisting youth in their transition from school to work is represented by a wide variety of school-based programs. This diversity is particularly instrumental in providing necessary options of career exploration and preparation for youth. The study looks at four different experiential programs from an anthropological frame of reference to determine how each sets up a "program culture" for learners to achieve program goals.

We wish to express our appreciation to the National Institute of Education for sponsoring the study and to Ronald Bucknam, Project Officer. We also wish to express gratitude to Ojo Arewa, The Ohio State University, for assisting the staff in the design and data collection phases of the study; Henrietta Schwartz, Roosevelt University, and Sheila Walker, University of California, for reviewing the report of the preliminary analysis.

We wish to acknowledge Michael Crowe for directing the study; Katherine Twarog, the Pontifical College Josephinum, who was on special assignment to the project, for preparing this report; to Marcia Rose for conducting and preparing a record of the interviews; Carolyn Hamilton for editing the report; and to Richard Miguel for his overall direction of the Learning-in-Work Research Program.

Robert E. Taylor
Executive Director
The National Center for Research in
Vocational Education

Special Note to the Reader

In the interest of conserving resources, this report focuses on those aspects of the study of most interest to researchers and practitioners in the field of experiential education. Technical Information and Appendices used in the preparation of this report are available for inspection at the National Center for interested researchers.

CHAPTER I

EDUCATION AND WORK PROGRAMS: TRANSITIONAL EDUCATIVE CULTURES

INTRODUCTION

Formal education and work programs are a comparatively new phenomenon in American secondary education. Although the first formal cooperative vocational education program was started in Massachusetts in 1900, the rapid expansion and development of numerous types of education and work programs did not receive comprehensive funding until the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 and 1976. Over the past decade, innovations in the field of secondary education have resulted in the development of academic programs in which work/career experiences in the economic institutions of the society are integrated into or with the traditional formal educational institutions of the society. These have been referred to as education and work programs. By 1977, there were at least 40 types of education and work programs in secondary school settings involving 595,770 American students primarily in their junior and senior years from all socio-economic groups and from all geographic areas of the country.[1]

A wide range of programs presently operate under the rubric of education and work programs. These programs represent diverse responses to local needs and local resources, but all share these characteristics: (a)an orientation toward the (economic institutions of) community; (b) the inclusion of a learning component, and (c) the awarding of academic credit and/or pay.[2]

Wasson has been able to delineate seven broad categories of programs. These include (a) general work experience, (b) employment, training, and educational motivation programs, (c) experience-based academic, (d) career exploration, (e) apprenticeships, (f) supervised volunteer work, and (g) cooperative vocational work experiences. She has also presented abstracts of structural characteristics of forty generic model programs in her monograph.

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1. Louise Wasson, ed., Experiential Education: A Primer on Programs (Columbus: National Center for Research in Vocational Education, 1978), p. 1.

2. Ibid.

Social science researchers in the Learning-in-Work Research Programs at the National Center for Research in Vocational Education (NCRVE) have studied fifteen types of state and national models programs in over fifty geographic locations. In the course of their research, they have been able to interview over 500 program participants from a variety of program roles (student, coordinator, work-site sponsor, school administrators, and parents of students). They have become increasingly aware that, although there are several variables, such as geographic area, length of program, interpersonal dyadic relationships within the program and socio-economic status of students, there are certain commonalities that appear across all these programs that seem to distinguish them from the traditional American high school program.1

Researchers in the Learning-in-Work programs have also been aware of the differences between the findings in the quantitative analysis of traditional research from the program sites they had studied and the more qualitative interview and questionnaire data from these sites. These differences indicated a need for a preliminary exploratory qualitative study in these programs to ultimately permit the clearer delineation of the actual learning experience in these programs.

In June of 1978, the National Center hosted a symposium, "Alternative Perspectives on Investigating the Consequences of Experiential Education." At that symposium, scholars from anthropology, sociology, economics, and psychology formulated tentative hypotheses about possible consequences of these programs and suggested alternative research methods that might facilitate the testing of these hypotheses. Sheila Walker, an anthropologist in the School of Education at the University of California, made the following recommendations about the value of using an anthropological approach in studying these programs.

> With respect to education in the United States anthropologists have taken two basic approaches, using them alone or in tandem. The first approach is to apply the kinds of theories and perspectives gained from learning about socialization/education in other societies to similar phenomena in the United States, using understandings from the former to better see and analyze the latter. The other approach has been to actually do observational field research in educational settings, treating the school as a small socio-cultural system containing the same kinds of institutions found in the larger community while at the same time being a very important

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1. Wasson, A Primer, p. 1.

> institution of this larger society. This latter approach has proven very useful for understanding aspects of school behavior not accessible through standardized tests or statistical survey methods, but only through direct observation and interaction with the actors. While this research method is perfectly valid for the analysis of traditional educational institutions, it seems especially appropriate to use such a still nontraditional research style to analyze and evaluate the kinds of non-traditional educational institutions represented by the myriad experiential education programs spread across this country. Since these programs are, by definition, designed to accomplish different ends than the traditional education system and to pursue their goals through different techniques, one might reasonably expect the methods developed to evaluate the outcomes of traditional education to be maladapted to these alternative programs.[1]

Walker's suggestion seemed relevant to the Learning-in-Work research staff. Culturally, there had always been a perceived relationship between the educational institutions of American society and the economic institutions of American society. These new education and work programs, however, went far beyond earlier programs in building bridges directly between these two types of institutions. That is, they were expected to fill certain roles in the traditional educative culture, but they were also expected to build certain roles and skills for later direct use in the cultural roles demanded by the economic institutions of the society.

The basic assumption was made that when a student enters an education and work program, he/she is effectively entering an educative culture that differs significantly from the traditional educative culture and that this education and work culture can best be conceptualized as a transitional educative culture. It was felt that an anthropologist, with his/her more holistic orientation and experience in the analysis of both the structural-functional components and the socio-cultural components of less complex societies, might have the requisite

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1. Sheila Walker, Perspectives on Investigating the Consequences of Experiential Education (Columbus: National Center for Research in Vocational Education, 1979), p. 40.

skills and experience to develop models that would describe how the educative culture of education and work programs differ from the traditional secondary-level educative culture. It was also felt that an anthropologist might be able to delineate those structural characteristics of the work culture of the American economic institutions with which the education and work programs must articulate.

Four excellent anthropological monographs on education and work programs had been completed, but these focused on four geographically separate EBCE* programs.[1] The anthropologists had spent considerable time in fieldwork data collection and analysis. There were at least forty other generic education and work model programs, however, and further research was needed to ascertain the relevance of the EBCE studies for generalization to these other programs.

The present study is a comparative case study of four actual education and work programs studied in three geographic areas that were derived from four different generic models of education and work programs. It uses an anthropological framework and delimited ethnographic research modalities to look across the four programs at commonalities caused by structural similarities in both the generic model programs and in the local adaptations of those programs and at the unique socio-cultural aspects of each program as it has adapted the generic model program. It will also examine the relationship of these education and work programs to both the traditional educative culture of the society and to the economic (work) institutions of the society and what will be termed the work culture of the society.

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1. Shel Anderson and Charles B. Drucker, Experience-Based Career Education in Charleston, West Virginia: An Anthropological Perspective and Experience-Based Career Education in Oakland, California: An Anthropological Perspective. The External Evaluator's Final Report on the Experience-Based Career Education Programs, vols. 2 and 3 (Berkeley, Calif.: Education Testing Service, 1976); Reginald Corder, project dir., The Academy for Career Education: An Ethnographic Evaluation and An Ethnographic Account of (CE_2): Experience-Based Career Education in Tigard, Oregon, The External Evaluator's Final Report on the Experience-Based Career Education Programs, vols. 4 and 5 (Berkeley, Calif.: Educational Testing Service, 1976).

* Experience-Based Career Education

It is hypothesized that an adequate description of both the generic model programs and the actual local programs that are structurally comparable and the analysis of the variations of these features across programs will facilitate the formulation of more precise hypotheses about how learning occurs in these programs.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Both theoretical factors and reality factors were involved in the final design of the preliminary research project. There was an extensive body of field materials already available at the National Center from national programs in over fifty geographic locations. Several publications have already been based on these materials.[1] Also, most of the original staff members, many of whom had some background in the social and behavorial sciences, were still involved in the Learning-in-Work Research Program or were living in the Columbus area. It did not seem theoretically necessary or financially realistic to have an anthropologist replicate the field research in fifty programs in a preliminary study, since these staff members could be available to the anthropologist for consultation in the completion of the final project.

Several reality factors were involved in the final research decisions. Dr. Ojo Arewa, a professor in the Department of Anthropology at The Ohio State University, agreed to serve as a consultant to the project staff and to direct the collection of the field data. The preliminary project, however, was not finalized until early April.

Because of the scheduled project completion date in November of 1979, studies in the secondary schools had to be completed before the end of the school year in June or had to be undertaken in September at the very beginning of the academic year. It seemed better to study on-going programs that had gone through an academic year.

Several possibilities were discussed including the study of one national program model in four different communities, four national program models in the context of one school district, or four different national program models in four diversified settings. It can be seen that the first study would have been similar to the EBCE studies.

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1. Richard J. Miguel, Experiential Education Policy Guidelines (Columbus: National Center for Research in Vocational Education, 1979); Louise Wasson, A Primer; Michael Crowe and Kay A. Adams, The Current Status and Future of Assessing Experiential Work Programs (Columbus: National Center for Research in Vocational Education, 1979).

While the collection and analysis of data from four national program models in the context of one school district would have, perhaps, been more manageable, it was decided that the opportunity to have an anthropologist look at four actual programs derived from four generic national model programs in four distinctive environments would offer the most stringent test of the perceived commonalities. With this in mind, it was decided to study actual programs representative of four of the models Wasson had described in different locations, serving different students, and at a different period in the lifetime of the program.

The staff members understood the basic data problems that result from what Robert Herriott has described as "fly-in, fly-out data collection."[1] They were also concerned that only twenty field days; eight for the anthropologist and twelve for his field assistant, could be scheduled for this preliminary study. They felt, however, that the collection of delimited field materials from four generically distinctive programs would still be of significance for the development of more refined hypotheses amenable to more traditional field techniques than would be possible in the other hypothesized studies which would have similar time limitations.

It was decided to use four generic model programs, the EHSIP, the EBCE, the 70,001, and the OWE, for the purposes of analysis. The Learning-in-Work research staff had previously worked with persons in all four programs at both national level and the level of local implementation. Institutional arrangements were also possible on short notice with programs where the research staff had had good working relationships previously. This became a major factor in site selection because of the short period of time available for the actual field research and the very limited funding available for this preliminary study. The following programs with diverse characteristics and settings were chosen:

- Executive High School Internship Program (EHSIP), Southtown County Public Schools*
- Experience-Based Career Education (EBCE), Northtown School District*
- Occupational Work Experience (OWE), Eastowne School District*
- 70,001 Ltd. Program (SEVCA), Westowne*

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1. Robert G. Herriott, "Ethnographic Case Studies in Federally Funded Multidisciplinary Policy Research: Some Design and Implementation Issues," Anthropology and Education Quarterly 8 (1977): 107.

*Although an actual, operating program, names have been changed to ensure anonymity.

The following table demonstrates the four study variables: the generic program model, the lifetime of the program, the students served, and the type of community the program was located in.

TABLE 1: SELECTION CRITERIA

Program	Lifetime of Program	Student Type	Community Type
EHSI	7 years	Above average to gifted	Professional class Suburban-urban
EBCE	2 years	Average	Rural
OWE	10 years	Below average	Working-class urban
70,001, Ltd.	2 months	Below average, school dropouts	Inner city

The formal contact with the programs to be studied was made by Ms. Marcia Rose, a program assistant on the project. A letter was sent to coordinators and program directors in the four actual programs that were to be studied. A suggested interview schedule and format was given to the coordinators but there were actually considerable differences in the field experience as structured by the coordinators at the four program sites.

The EHSI program site was studied from May 2 to May 5; the EBCE program site from May 9 to May 11; the 70,001 program site from May 23 to May 25; and the OWE program site from May 31 to June 1.

The actual field-work was done by Dr. Ojo Arewa, the technical consultant, and by Ms. Marcia Rose, the program assistant. Ms. Rose had the responsibility for the collection and transcription of the field notes. The preliminary analysis of field data was completed under the direction of Dr. Arewa and Dr. Michael Crowe of the National Center staff. The final analysis and completion of the project report in the fall was done at the National Center by Dr. Katherine Twarog, an anthropologist at the Pontifical College Josephinum, Columbus, Ohio, and a specialist in American familial and economic cultural institutions.

Project deadlines did not permit further field study but Dr. Twarog was able to supplement the field data for the preliminary study with additional interview material from Ms. Rose.

Dr. Twarog also had access to the Learning-in-Work research personnel and their research materials. These materials were supplemented by primary materials from Dr. Twarog's own areas of research and secondary materials from bibliographic sources.

Dr. Twarog first completed a review of major accessible publications in the field of anthropology and education to ascertain reported research on education and work programs. As noted, four anthropological monographs on EBCE programs had been completed: two of which were immediately available. These two monographs were excellent but were very program specific. They were very useful in the interpretation of the EBCE field-study reports but were not as relevant for understanding the dynamics of the other three programs studied by the field-team. An analysis of the anthropological studies of American educative culture that have been done and the relationships of those studies to the very specialized interests of researchers in the field(s) of vocational education is presented in Chapter 3.

The field interview materials were subsequently supplemented by additional interview materials collected from Ms. Marcia Rose, the field assistant.

A preliminary analysis of these field materials suggested that a more productive final analysis of these materials could be completed if simplified structural models of the generic learning-in-work national programs were first developed from other existing Center materials. It should be acknowledged specifically that the usefulness of the EBCE monographs was relevant to this decision but that these new models were meant to be suggestive of probable built-in structural dimensions of the generic program models and were not meant to be evaluative of those models or of local programs using their own adaptations of those models.

As previously noted (see p. 1), Wasson had abstracted comparable materials for forty Learning-in-Work national programs. These included materials for the EHSI program, the EBCE program, the OWE program, and the 70,001 Ltd. program. These abstracts are Wasson's Appendix A.[1] With these materials, it was possible to develop four generic graphics of these programs which will be presented and briefly analyzed in a later section. With the existent anthropological studies on American secondary education, it was also possible to develop a graphic model of that system for comparative purposes. Unfortunately, the non-existence of anthropological studies on traditional secondary vocational schools has precluded the inclusion of an accurate model on that educative culture.

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1. Wasson, A Primer, Abstracts.

It has been mentioned earlier that these educative cultures were probably best conceptualized as transitional educative cultures bridging the gap between the culture of the educational institutions and the culture of the economic (work) institutions of the society. Additional materials were developed to present the unique cultural structuring of "work" in American economic (business) institutions that appeared to be of particular relevance to these transitional educative cultures. It is not claimed that the cultural features described in either the section on the culture of work (Appendix A) or on the traditional American secondary school educative culture are exhaustive. It is hoped, however, that they will be of relevance for the analysis and interpretation of the existing body of data and suggestive of productive areas for more definitive future research.

It should be noted that there are implications of this study design. The methodology used in this study does deviate somewhat from standard anthropological methodology and, particularly, anthropological field methodology. However, it may be less different than it first appears to be. Because of the time factor, program coordinators were asked to set up interviews with students, work-site sponsors, other staff personnel, and, finally, for themselves. Ideally, the anthropologist and his field assistant would have selected informants themselves after observation in the field situation. In reality, as many anthropologists have noted, the key informant chooses to work with the anthropologist, who is, after all, in a completely foreign environment. Again, ideally, an anthropologist will have worked with all inhabitants of a given community, but, in reality, much information has been given initially by the key informant who may have acted as something of a "cultural filter" agent.[1]

It should also be noted that, in this preliminary study conducted at the end of the school year, the researchers were implicitly studying selective groups. Interviews were conducted with those students, work-site sponsors, and coordinators who had been sufficiently satisfied with the different programs to remain program participants. There would be advantages in studying the same four programs at specified time intervals and interviewing program participants who dropped out. It

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1. See Thomas Rhys Williams, Field Methods in the Study of Culture (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967) for a general discussion of field methodology and a reasonably comprehensive bibliography of field study methodology.

would undoubtedly broaden our understanding of the features of these programs. However, one must admit that anthropologists rarely visit adjacent communities to talk with these members of the community who have left. Sociologists rarely go to individual homes to collect unmailed questionnaires and psychologists cannot follow kids to the local pizza parlor to complete a test.

In summary, the body of data used in this present study consists of primary field data, consisting of interviews and site observations supplemented by extensive data from both earlier and ongoing research at the National Center for Research in Vocational Education. Secondary bibliographic materials from anthropological, sociological, historical, and other inter-disciplinary sources have also been used.

CHAPTER III

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES OF AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS: A HISTORICAL AND SYNCHRONIC VIEW

Anthropologists have traditionally had a deep theoretical interest in the field of education, whether that field has been defined as formal education, per se, or has been referred to in broader terms as those processes of socialization and enculturation which have prepared the children of a given human society to fulfill all the needed adult roles necessary for the survival of that society.[1]

The role played by culture, (in the anthropological sense) is brilliantly summarized by Judith Hansen:

> Our ideas, our values, our emotions, our behavior patterns, even our perceptions are all cultural products in that they are constructed in response to our social experience from the tendencies, capacities, and dispositions with which we are born. . . .Culture. . . .all the knowledge learned and shared by members of a community. . . .is an essential condition for human existence. Equally essential is a capacity for learning and what we might call a disposition to learn. . . . (ultimately) culture provides a tool for organizing experiences.[2]

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1. The anthropologist, John W. Bennett and the sociologist, Melvin W. Tumin, have defined "six functional prerequisites of societal survival and continuity." These are: (1) to maintain the biologic functioning of the group members; (2) to reproduce new members for the group; (3) to socialize new members into functioning adults; (4) to produce and distribute goods and services necessary to life; (5) to maintain order within the group and between itself and outsiders; and (6) to define the meaning of life and maintain the motivation to survive and engage in the activities necessary for survival. John W. Bennett and Melvin M. Tumin, Social Life: Structure and Function (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), pp. 45-62.

2. Judith Friedman Hansen. Sociocultural Perspectives on Human Learning: An Introduction to Educational Anthropology. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979) p. 3.

A culture is always carried and made manifest by a group, for no one individual ever knows or exhibits all the traits of any culture. Yet culture and society are not one. A society is a group of people that lives as an entity and has its own culture; a culture consists not of people but of ways of acting. A person belongs to a society but not to a culture.

Each culture is made up of a multitude of selected traits and themes (or dominant values) integrated into a whole system. The implications of this are that all parts have a special relationship to the whole and each element plays its part in contributing to a total life-way. The way it and all the parts relate to one another and influence and affect one another forms the structure of the culture. The contribution that each part makes to the total cultural system is its function, in contrast to its form.

Historical Factors in Interdisciplinary Research in Vocational Education and Anthropology

From the standpoint of a traditionally oriented anthropologist, the most significant change in contemporary American education has been the discovery, or rediscovery, of vocational education and those related areas--such as, home economics, agricultural education, and business education.

This is not meant to imply that educators in these areas were not always present. They were there, of course, but they certainly did not have a high level of visibility on the national scene.

Their position was in some ways analogous to that of the traditional anthropologist in the social sciences. For the sociologist, the psychologist, and probably scholars in the humanities, as well, the anthropologist was personified by Margaret Mead running off to publish her latest book, write her newspaper column, appear on a TV talk show, or give a public lecture.[1]

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1. Margaret Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, (New York: Morrow, 1935); Margaret Mead, ed., Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, (Paris: UNESCO, 1953).

Margaret Mead won her fame and place in American history as a popularizer of anthropology but she earned her right to be an anthropologist by the grinding, lonely, often boring process that constitutes field-work and evaluation.[1] The focal job of the anthropologist, at most times, was the collection of basic materials from the disappearing non-literate, non-western groups in the world.

There are strong parallels between the anthropologist sitting for hours watching and recording the steps taken in construction of an Eskimo Kayak and the vocational shop instructor helping a group of students tear apart and reassemble an old car in order to be able to generalize that knowledge to a basic understanding of automobile mechanics. There were strong pragmatic realities that an anthropologist isolated for months in a remote area simply had to contend with: Dirt, sweat, noise, bugs, infections, to name a few.

By analogy, it might be useful to conceptualize the traditional vocational educator in a similar vein. The definitive novel or the definitive historical study about the role of the vocational education teacher in what used to be termed trade schools, in the assimilation and education of thousands of first and second generation New Wave immigrants may exist but, if it does, it seems to be comparatively obscure. Novels, such as How Green Was My Valley,[1] have focused on the role of teachers such as the English teacher who persuaded the young Welsh coal miner to go on for "higher" education. Overall, the role of trade schools, business schools, and night schools, in helping the New Wave immigrants find a first step up on the American mobility ladder - a stable job - has not been analyzed.

The fact that this role was not described or focused on to any real extent in the professional literature of antropology has had a direct implication, however, for the areas of cooperation

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1. Margaret Mead, "The Mountain Arapesh; An Importing Culture." Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 36 (1938) pp. 145-349. Like a generation of other excellent field monographs, primary focus was on the detailed technical explanation of both material and non-material aspects of Arapesh culture.

and research that have developed between vocational and experiential education and anthropology. It also has a direct implication for the areas of cooperation and research that are needed in the future.

Anthropological Research on the American Educational System

For many decades, for both theoretical and historical reasons, American-trained anthropologists and European-trained anthropologists considered their focal point of research to be the study of the societies and cultures of smaller, non-literate groups that were rapidly changing and even disappearing with the world-wide trends toward urbanization and industrialization.

Experimentation was not needed because the anthropologists were studying the living laboratory examples of the diversity of ways that humans structured their lives, their technologies, their world view, and even their social relationships to meet the needs of their social and physical environments.

There were too few anthropologists, too little research funding and too little time to complete the collection of data from these living groups and from the fragmentary fossil and human remains and to reconstruct the history of past groups, including human evolutionary history. Even broad cross-cultural analyses of these materials were usually not attempted because of the gaps in basic information.

Discussions of the relationships between the fields of formal American education and anthropology were primarily speculative and journalistic.[1]

Indeed, research in complex societies, in general, was limited. Nevertheless, by the late 1950s and 1960s, some detailed anthropological research into different American sub-cultures and on different American institutions such as the family and kinship system had been published.[2]

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1. Joan J. Roberts and Sherrie K. Akinsawya, "Chronological Bibliography on Anthropology and Education," in The Anthropology of Education, ed. Joan J. Roberts and Sherrie K. Akinsawya (New York: David McKay, 1976):375-404.

2. An excellent example of a seminal article is that of Marvin B. Sussman and Lee Burchinal, "Kin Family Network: Unheralded Structure in Current Conceptualizations of Family Functioning," Marriage and Family Living 24 (1962):231-40.

The publication in 1960 of Jules Henry's definitive article, "A Cross-Cultural Outline of Education," for the first time defined clear distinctive parameters and guidelines for cross-cultural anthropological research on education.[1]

Subsequent studies by Jules Henry, and many other anthropologists, which cannot be discussed at length here, demonstrated that these parameters and guidelines have been relevant for the study of the American educational system, at all levels.[2] Today, there is a substantive body of research in the field of American education and anthropology. These data exist for elementary, secondary, and to a lesser extent, post-secondary levels of education. They are invaluable in terms of insight into the structure and functioning of the educative culture of the American educational system as it primarily was at the beginning of the 1960s through the early 1970s.

It was natural that anthropologists studying the schools saw a structurally and contextually isolated educational institution that could be conceptualized as a distinctive social environment requiring a special kind of social learning for all the participants including the acquisition of the values, attitudes and interpersonal behavioral modes that were current within that system. Additionally, they saw only a limited number of effective social roles defined by the educational culture. A participant could be a teacher, a student, or an administrator. Only limited descriptions were made of persons such as school counselors and service staff persons. Other societal roles, such as banker and beautician were not perceived as relevant to the functioning of the schools.

A much more detailed plan for describing the "culture" of a school is given by Jules Henry in his answer to the question, "What do we mean by the culture of the school?":

> The answer to the general question is obtained by finding answers to the following subsidiary questions among others:
>
> 1. What are the values, perceptions, and attitudes of the people in the school? Since, whenever the child is in school, he is a member of the school culture, answers to the question apply to him just as well as to the school personnel. Thus, for example, we study the class position of pupils, teachers, and principals; their values, their perceptions of one another,

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1. Jules Henry, "A Cross-Cultured Outline of Education," Current Anthropology 1 (1960):266-79.

2. Roberts, "Chronological Bibliographies," pp. 375-404.

their attitudes toward the school, and so on. We want to know the general value orientations of school personnel as well as the values they use in judging one another and their pupils; and we want to know the same about the pupils. We also want to know how the pupils perceive the teachers and vice versa, how the teachers perceive one another and the principal, and how he [or she] perceives them. We want to know what the attitudes of all the members of the school culture are toward the school itself.

2. What is the internal structure of the school? What is the hierarchy or power in each school? Who are the pace-setters, the cultural maximizers, the arbiters of value judgments? What are the roles of the teachers and the principal? How much freedom of choice is there for a teacher? What are the relative power positions of the newcomers and the old hands; the insiders and the outsiders (if any)? What in general are the lines of formal and informal communication and organization? Is it possible to evade the formal structure? Does it really exist? What is the relationship between types of structure and communication and accomplishing anything? What are the patterns of socialization of new teachers into the on-going "tradition" of the particular school? What are the patterns of recruitment into the school? What are the "quit" patterns? What processes determine turnover, advancement, and so on?

3. What are the formal and informal relationships between the educational bureaucracy and the factors listed in No. 2?

4. What is the relationship between the parents and the school system?

5. What goes on in the classroom?

The dynamic sum of the answers to questions one through five constitute the ethnography of the school; and from this one should be able to derive a general answer to the question, What is the culture of the (particular school)?[1]

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1. Jules Henry, "Education of the Negro Child," in Anthropological Perspectives on Education, ed. Murray L. Wax, Stanley Diamond, and F. O. Gearing (New York, London: Basic Books, 1974):80-95.

It should be noted that the very types of questions that Jules Henry was asking and that, in certain respects, have been asked by most researchers in the area of education and anthropology, were formulated in such a way that only certain types of traditional anthropological research techniques were relevant for their investigation. There was an intensive use of participant observation techniques including extensive collections of data of interactions occurring within a given classroom during a specific time period. There were also extensive collections of interview materials from school personnel at all levels. There was also an attempt to collect these data over an extended time period. The ideal period was an academic year; although the majority of studies involved less time.[1]

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1. Roberts, "Chronological Bibliographies," pp. 375-404. It will be hypothesized that the major reason why American anthropologists have spent so much time studying the traditional elementary and secondary school systems is probably a very simple one. The majority of American anthropologists studying American education educative culture at elementary and secondary school level in the late 1950s and 1960s when the traditional elementary and secondary school systems were indeed representative of their own cultural experiences.

A related fact may well be that a high percentage of those students who were completing masters and doctoral degrees may well have been from middle-class families and communities or suburbs where, even at present, the traditional elementary and secondary American educative culture is still dominant. Additionally, several of the ethnographic studies that have been done have been completed by scholars in the field of education who have had minor areas of specialization in anthropology, perhaps comparable to a master's degree in that area or were themselves teachers in the social sciences in traditional schools. Thus, those scholars in education with some anthropological orientation could not have experienced the total anthropological orientation nor understood the full range of anthropological methodologies.

Additionally, anthropologists normally present their research findings in what is termed "the ethnographic present." That is, they focus on the technical description and analysis of the society during the period that field data was actually collected. They do this, hopefully, with the understanding that culture is always changing and that some segments or cultural institutions may change first and that there will be a culture lag before that change will be reflected in other institutions.

This technique is very useful in studying technical materials; in studying social organization materials, it sometimes has its detriments. It can result in a "mind-set" that may influence the basic perceptions of researchers in the immediate tudies and may make them less sensitive to actual areas of significant institutional hange.

While the fields in vocational education had not disappeared when the anthropologist began studying the American school system in the 1950s and early 1960s, they certainly did not have the high social visibility that they had had earlier or that they would begin to have again a decade later with the revival of interest in vocational education and the new interests in education and work programs in experiential education.

Other anthropological field-techniques, however, such as the taking of a village (or school) census, collection of genealogies, tracing of interconnections with other societal institutions were, for the most part, not used. The rigor that has been used with such dramatic success by anthropologists, such as W. Lloyd Warner, in his studies of Yankee City, was not and really has not been used in the study of the traditional American educative culture nor in research in either experiential or vocational education.[1]

Contemporary American Secondary Schools, Vocational Education and Experiential Education: The New Questions

Lois-Ellin Datta and Corinne Rieder have discussed the labor force involvement of the majority of American young people between the ages of sixteen and nineteen. They have given the following statistical information:

> In 1977, over 8 million young people between the ages of sixteen and nineteen were enrolled in school. Of these, about 3.5 million, or 41 percent were employed. Among the 3 million youth in this age group who were not in school, 70 percent were employed. Employment rates were higher for older youth than for younger (78 percent versus 62 percent), and for men than for women (89 percent versus 62 percent). Over 90 percent of all students graduating from high school had held full-time or part-time work prior to graduation. Over 80 percent placed being successful in work highest on their list of life goals. Even among the unemployed youth, those enrolled in school were most likely to be unemployed because they they were looking for temporary work. Those not in school were more likely to be unemployed because they had been laid off (30 percent) or because they had voluntarily quit their previous jobs (25 percent). Whatever else is happening, youth are not isolated from the world of work, nor are they indifferent to it.[2]

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1. W. Lloyd Warner and James Abegglen, Big Business Leaders in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1955); W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Status System of a Modern Community (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1942), W. Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1941); W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeks, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949); W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of Ethnic Groups (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1946).

2. Lois-Ellin Datta and Corinne Rieder, "The Socialization Value of the Workplace: Some Educational Perspectives," The Educator, vol. 21 No. 2:53.

It is particularly relevant to note that over 90 percent of all high school graduates had held full-time or part-time jobs prior to graduation. It has been noted previously that approximately 600,000 young people in this age bracket were directly involved in education and work programs.[1]

The precise nature of the work experiences of those young people who were not in work settings supervised by vocational educators or experiential educators focusing on career education experiences is not known. Scholars such as Biggs and Schomberg have attempted to isolate the effect of various work experiences on the psychological maturity of college freshman. They concluded that those students who had worked in different types of unskilled jobs generally showed no direct educational benefit from their work experiences but those students who worked in jobs that had required more complexity of interactions were generally less dogmatic and more flexible.[2]

As Datta and Rieder noted, there is no reason to theorize that secondary level students in the United States are completely isolated or indifferent to the world of work. It is probable that the majority of the jobs students have held have probably been unskilled but survival in those jobs, with or without supervision, would develop some understanding of the nature of the world of work. It may also be hypothesized that at least some of these young people have been involved in jobs that are somewhat exploitive in nature and may have involved work experiences that would not have been acceptable in supervised placements. Other students may have held jobs that are family-linked or more nearly approximate exchange of services where Federal minimum wages were not involved.

It is important to distinguish these types of work experiences from those falling under the rubric of either secondary school-level vocational education work experience or secondary school-level learning career-related experience where educators have clear goals and objectives in mind for their students.

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1. Wasson, Primer, p.1

2. D. A. Biggs and S. T. Schomberg, "Is Freshman Dogmatism Related to Precollege and Freshman Year Experiences," OSA Research Bulletin, University of Minnesota, 1977:17-18.

Experiential educators who have focused on the human growth potential in education and work related programs have definite goals for adolescent youth. In their recent review article, these have been discussed at some length by Dan Conrad and Diane Hedin:

> Advocates of experiential education raise fundamental issues about the role of youth in society, and question the adequacy of present social arrangements to prepare adolescents for the difficult transition to an increasingly complex and uncertain adulthood. . . (They define experiential education as) school-based experiential programs offered as an integral part of the general school curriculum but taking place outside of the conventional classroom, in which students are in new roles featuring significant tasks with real consequences, and in which the emphasis is on learning through doing with associated reflection.[1]

Conrad and Hedin have been particularly concerned about the qualitative factors stressed in experiential education and work programs and the impact of these programs on the communities in which they are located:

> Personal psychological growth as an end in itself degenerates into narcisism or 'subjective egoism' . . . .Social improvement is not the avowed aim of all proponents of experiential learning but it stands as a valuable touchstone for evaluating the concept and assessing the practice. On the level of a particular program, it means that the activities engaged in by the students must be real, with genuine significance, and with clear social consequences. Without this ingredient, community experiences take on the nature of classroom games, movies, and simulations--more engaging than traditional fare, but ultimately no more important. On the level of general practice, it demands of experiential programs that they meet the standard of value applied by

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1. Dan Conrad and Diane Hedin, "Experiential Education: A Summary of Its Theoretical Foundations and a Critical Review of Recent Research," Mimeographed article, St. Paul, Minn.: Center of Youth Development, University of Minn., July, 1979:1-2.

> Dewey to any idea, practice or law that it achieves dignity in the measure of the needs that are served by it.[1]

It is clear that there are both convergences and divergences in the goals of vocational educators and experiential educators. It is hypothesized that one goal for a vocational educator would be entry-level positions at skilled levels for high school graduates. Experiential educators might also find that many program participants were able to hold entry-level positions at varying skill levels after high school graduation but they would be more concerned with the psycho-social skills that the students developed. Thus, for example, volunteer work is an important component of some experiential programs,[2] but while vocational education students would certainly not be discouraged from such activities, their direct participation in volunteer work would probably be outside of their vocational education program, per se.

Silberman's article on the intrinsic possibilities in vocational education is particularly significant because it suggests potential areas of complementarity between the goals of vocational educators and the goals of experiential educators. He stresses that:

> In the intrinsic perspective, vocational education activities are designed to enhance the quality of present experience, to engage learners in productive and creative ways that enrich the spirit and contribute to personal development.[3]

Silberman suggests five dimensions in which a vocational education can promote human development: (1) development of a sense of personal competence, (2) aesthetic expression, (3) integrity, (4) cooperativeness, and (5) a heightened sense of altruism.[4]

The cultural problems facing secondary-level vocational and experiential educators would seem to have certain similarities and differences. The strength of these programs has rested in their perceived relationships to the basically pragmatic cultural world-view that has always characterized formal U. S. public education. The continuing fluctuations in the U. S. labor market

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1. Conrad and Hedin, "Experiential Education," p. 61.

2. Wasson, A Primer, p. 1.

3. Harry Silberman, "Intrinsic Perspectives in Vocational Education," The Educator 21, Fall, 1979:50.

4. Ibid.

that may become more severe in the 1980s can have impacts for both types of educators. The ability of the secondary-level vocational educator to assure program participants of entry-level positions may be affected and the potential for experiential educators to demonstrate definite future career importance for secondary level education and work programs may also be affected.

Both vocational educators and experiential educators have drawn extensively on research in the disciplines of sociology and psychology to suggest potential areas of further contributions to society. Experiential educators have also used both data and methodology primarily derived from anthropological research areas in culture and personality.

Are there additional contemporary anthropological research interests that could have pragmatic adaptability for problems facing vocational and experiential educators? The relevance of these questions is underlined by the new National Institute of Education guidelines for needed educational research in the 1980s.[1] The National Institute of Education has stressed the strong need for research in how learning occurs outside the classroom. They have focused on the need for research on "relationships between the social environments of the home and school as well as other settings which function as learning environments (social groups, churches, community recreation groups and 4-H clubs, for example)." example)."[2] The need to "increase understanding of the unique characteristics of school instruction and its role in the whole complex of education of children and youth has also been noted."[3] Moreover, the National Institute of Education has specifically requested proposals for additional studies on people with differing social and ethnic backgrounds for the teaching and learning of both youth and adults in community and work settings.[5] The relationships of these stated goals to the traditionally holistic research orientation of the anthropologist which is directed toward the interdependence of societal institutions is clear. The need for new methodologies more appropriate for more informative qualitative studies is also clear.

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1. Lois-Ellen Datta, Assoc. Director, "Teaching and Learning Research Grants Announcement," The National Institute of Education, September, 1979:7.

2. Ibid, p. 17.

3. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

4. Ibid., p. 18.

New Interests in Structural Anthropology

It has been stated that scholars in vocational education research and experiential education research have had somewhat limited contact with many contemporary research trends in anthropology. The work of French anthropologist, Claude Levi-Strauss, a leading proponent of the structural method, who has had a major impact throughout cultural anthropology during the past twenty-five years, has generally been not used by vocational and experiential education researchers. Levi-Strauss has focused intensively on the relations among social phenomena rather than the nature of the phenomena and the systems into which these relations enter. He has repeatedly emphasized the close relationships between field work and theory, and between the accurate description of social phenomena and structural analysis. He sees these as basically two phases of the same process. His approach has been both holistic and integrative.[1]

Levi-Strauss has been particularly effective in integrating theories developed by Marcel Mauss on the basic structural and symbolic importance of reciprocity in human societal interactions in his work.[2] These basic theories themselves, may be of particular relevance to possible future areas of development in the fields of both vocational education and experiential education. Mary Jean Bowman has defined reciprocal or exchange relations as follows:

> In the social sciences (with the exception of economics) the term 'exchange' has essentially the same meanings as in lay usage, applying in general to the mutual giving and receiving of both material and non-material things. Thus, it may refer to transfers of services, goods, money, rights, or benefits that are reciprocated by a transfer of something (whether similar or different) in return. In economic anthropology the term is used to refer to particular transactions as well as to define the nature of a system.[3]

The potential significance of these research areas for vocational and experiential educators will be delineated in the concluding chapter. They are meant to be suggestive of areas of

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1. Claude Levi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology. Trans. from the French, Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (New York: Basic Books, 1963).

2. Marcel Mauss, "Essai sur le Don, Forme archaique de l'échange," Annee Sociologue, n.s., I. 1923 (The Gift. Trans. I. Cunnison, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954)

3. Mary Jean Bowman, "Exchange" in A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, ed. Julius Gould and William Kolb, UNESCO, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 19 :247-8.

needed research and not exhaustive of potential research areas where anthropologists could make significant contributions to the fields of vocational and experiential education.

These are many additional areas of anthropological research interests such as research into adaptive strategies and research on the structural characteristics of different ethnic subcultural groups in contemporary American society that are also of much potential relevance to the fields of vocational and experiential education but these areas lie beyond the parameters of the present preliminary study.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTIVE MODELS OF A TRADITIONAL AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION PROGRAM AND FOUR EDUCATION AND WORK PROGRAMS: A STRUCTURAL COMPARISON

The major focus of this chapter will be on the comparative analysis of a model derived from anthropological studies of traditional American secondary schools with four models developed from Wasson's abstracts of four generic education and work programs; the EHSI program, the EBCE program, the OWE program, and the 70,001, Ltd. program.[1]

Traditionally, studying the structural features of social phenomenon has meant studying both the formal and informal patterned relationships existing among individuals, groups, and institutions. It is possible to study the formal structure of an institution by focusing on explicitly stated rules and expectations. It is also possible to study the informal structure of an institution by examining expectations which are inherent in generally accepted ways of thinking and acting.

By focusing first on structure, we can later study process; that is, the ways in which structural features are created, maintained, or modified over time and on the processes of adaptation necessary tc adjust to changing conditions.[2]

In this chapter, we will look for relatively stable features of behavior and context in both the traditional secondary educative culture and in the generic models of newer education and work programs that have been adopted in many contemporary American communities.

The Traditional American Secondary School

The primary focus of anthropological research of both elementary and secondary American public schools has been on the traditional generic model which is presented in Figure 1, although Figure 1 is

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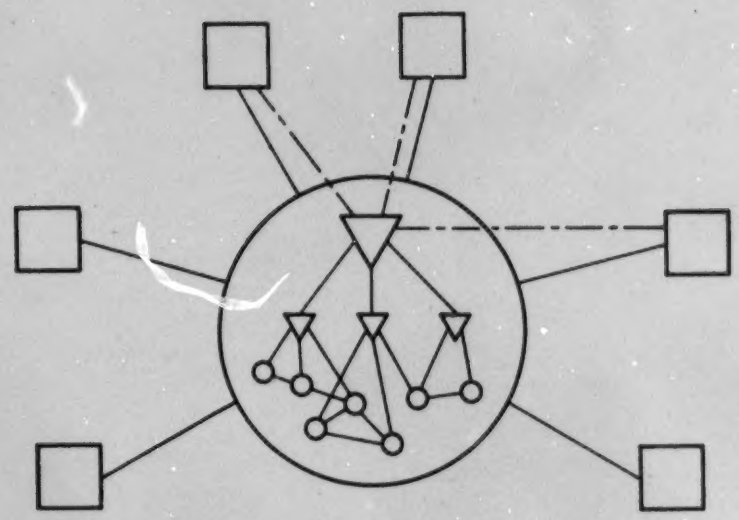
1. Wasson, A Primer, Abstracts.

2. The description of structural studies has been developed from two sources: Judith Friedman Hansen, Sociocultural Perspectives, p. 49 and Theodorson, Dictionary of Sociology, p. 423.



LEGEND:

- Program Directors
- School Counselors
- Teachers
- Students
- Co-ordinators
- Site Analysts
- Direct lines of influence
- Indirect lines of influence
- Administrators
- Program related worksites
- Non-program related worksites
- State Board of Education

Figure 1. Generic Model: Traditional High School.

Source: The graphic representations of the programs presented here were provided to the author courtesy of Rebekah Jorgensen, Dept. of Communications, University of California at Santa Barbara.

titled Traditional American High School, this was done to permit the visual representation of the fact that many American high school age students have always worked in addition to attending school. There has been no direct official communication between their employers or the economic (work) institutions of the community and the school administrative or teaching faculty. If the work-site symbols are removed, this model can also serve as a generic model for the structure of both elementary and secondary American public schools of a slightly earlier period and, often, of this period as well.

The most important structural aspect of this model is that it represents a highly structured and contextually isolated institution; that is, both distinctive from and, to a certain extent, impenetrable, by other institutions. Thus, it develops a distinctive kind of social learning for all the participants, including the acquisition of the values, attitudes, and interpersonal behavioral modes that are current within that system. In addition, there are only a limited number of effective roles defined by the educational culture. A participant can be a teacher, a student, or an administrator. The roles of counselor and service staff person are not discussed in this paper because of the limited information on the content of these roles.

Within this system, however, a complicated stratified social system can and often does arise based on various criteria for status and ranking. The central authority figure in this model is the principal who has a relatively high degree of autonomy in many schools, somewhat less in others. His role as "mediator-administrator" is pivotal to the autonomy of the system.

Four descriptive graphics of national education and work programs have been developed. They will be presented with a modest amount of textual information because of the more extensive information available in another staff publication.[1]

The Executive High School Internships Program (EHSI)

The Executive High School Internship Program is a career exploration program for students who want to "test their mettle as adults and examine their aptitudes and interests in real work settings. Students engage in work experiences during or after school time, receive academic credit, and are not paid. Programs vary in the extent to which they offer a complementary academic component and in the length of time students invest at any one job site."[2]

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1. Wasson, A Primer, pp. 96-140.

2. Ibid., p. 5.

Figure 2 presents a structural illustrative model for the EHSI program and shows its significant features. The students, referred to as interns, are actually geographically separated from their home secondary schools and work under the direct supervision of their program coordinator.

Program goals focus on the students' development of accurate understandings of both formal and informal organizational structure and on the competencies required to function effectively in a bureaucratic structure. Students are also expected to acquire personal habits that will prepare them later for work in an organizational environment.

During the semester that they are enrolled in the program, they have no formal connection with the traditional home school. They are placed in a program-related work-site four days of the academic week serving as an intern to a specific employee (sponsor) at that work-site. The only structured contact that they have with their peer group is on Fridays at the formal seminars. These Friday seminars are held at a different work-site each week.

The coordinator has a role with multiple dimensions. The coordinator is expected to recruit both students and work-site sponsors for the program. Although the sponsor does the actual supervision of the student at the work site, the coordinator is expected to monitor the student's progress through site visitations, the Friday seminars, the interns' written daily logs, and individual student conferences.

The Experience-Based Career Education Program (EBCE)

The Experience-Based Career Education (EBCE) program is a

> ...concept initiated by the National Institute of Education and developed by four regional research laboratories. It is a comprehensive community-based education program through which participants earn academic credit for basic skills and life skill competencies in a community setting. The EBCE experience features academically focused nonpaid short- and long-term career explorations. Students fulfill graduation requirements in English,

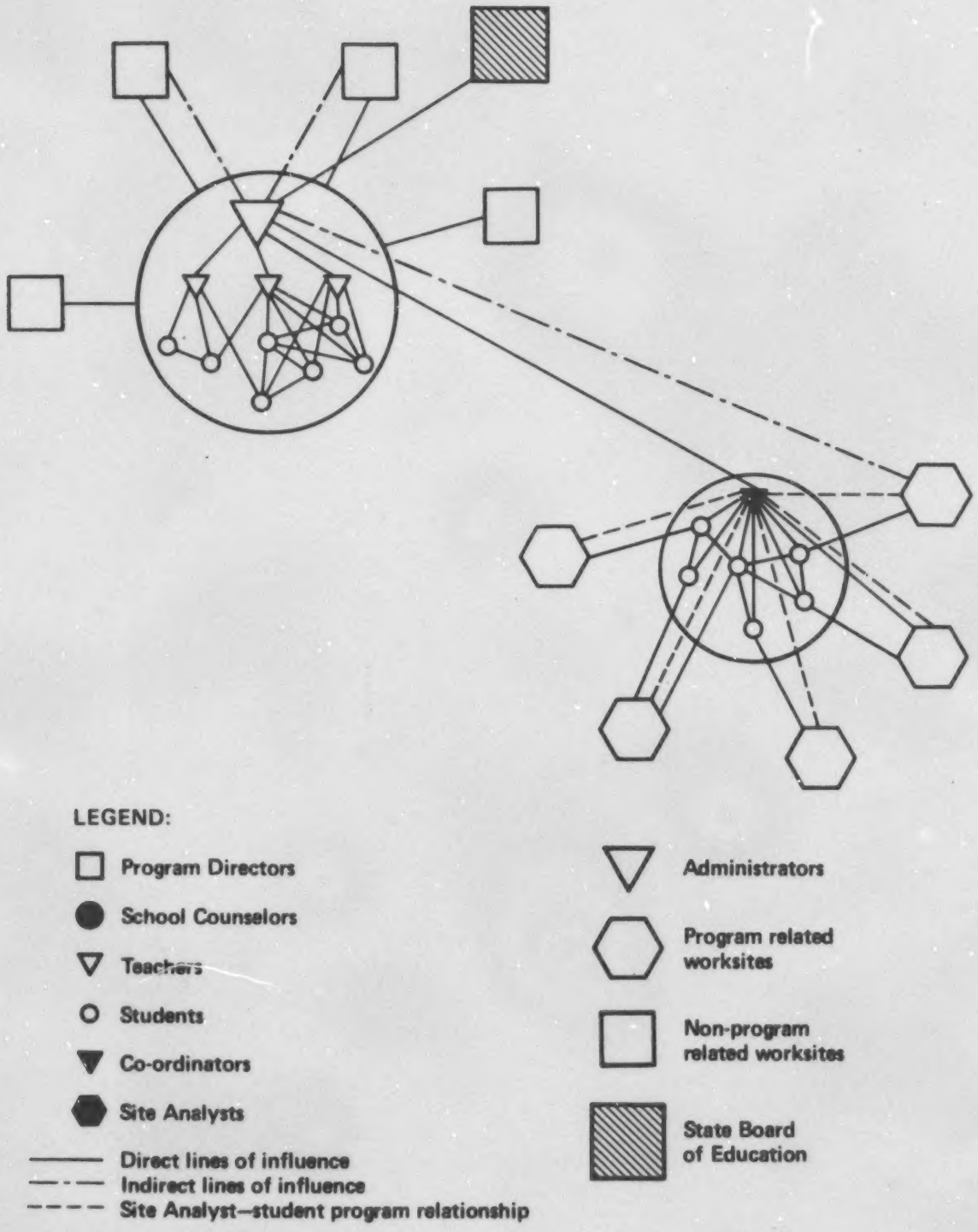

Figure 2. Generic Model: Executive High School Internship Program.

> science, and math as they interact with adult worker/mentors at job sites such as newspaper offices, laboratories, and computer firms. Before embarking on one of these experiences, the student draws up a learning contract with the EBCE coordinator specifying which competencies are to be granted at which site and through which processes.[1]

Students involved in prototype EBCE programs spend approximately eight to thirty hours weekly at school conferring individually with the coordinator, attending workshops with other EBCE enrollees and perhaps using facilities such as the library. The remainder of the week is spent in the community completing projects and interacting with adults. The emphasis there is on academic and personal productivity not economic productivity.

After enrolling in an EBCE program, a student completes several career decision-making seminars. In the seminars, careers are evaluated not only in terms of training and responsibilities but also in lifestyle and value implications. Students are encouraged to select community learning sites which coincide with their career interests. The emphasis is on career exploration rather than career commitment or occupational skill development.

Figure 3 presents a structural illustrative model for the EBCE program and shows its significant features. The EBCE program may either be housed in the home secondary school or, as is often the case, it may be physically separated. In either setting, most EBCE programs are separated from the traditional school environment.

The community is involved in at least two areas of an EBCE program. All four EBCE models require a community board to assist the school in the direction of activities. This group is composed of labor, business, government, service, and industry persons and serves in an advisory capacity. The community is also involved directly, of course, in providing the learning sites for the students at both private and public institutions in the area.

Two new roles are found in the EBCE program. These are the roles of the learning coordinator and the placement coordinator/site analyst. Because there are four major variations of the EBCE generic model, the content of these roles may

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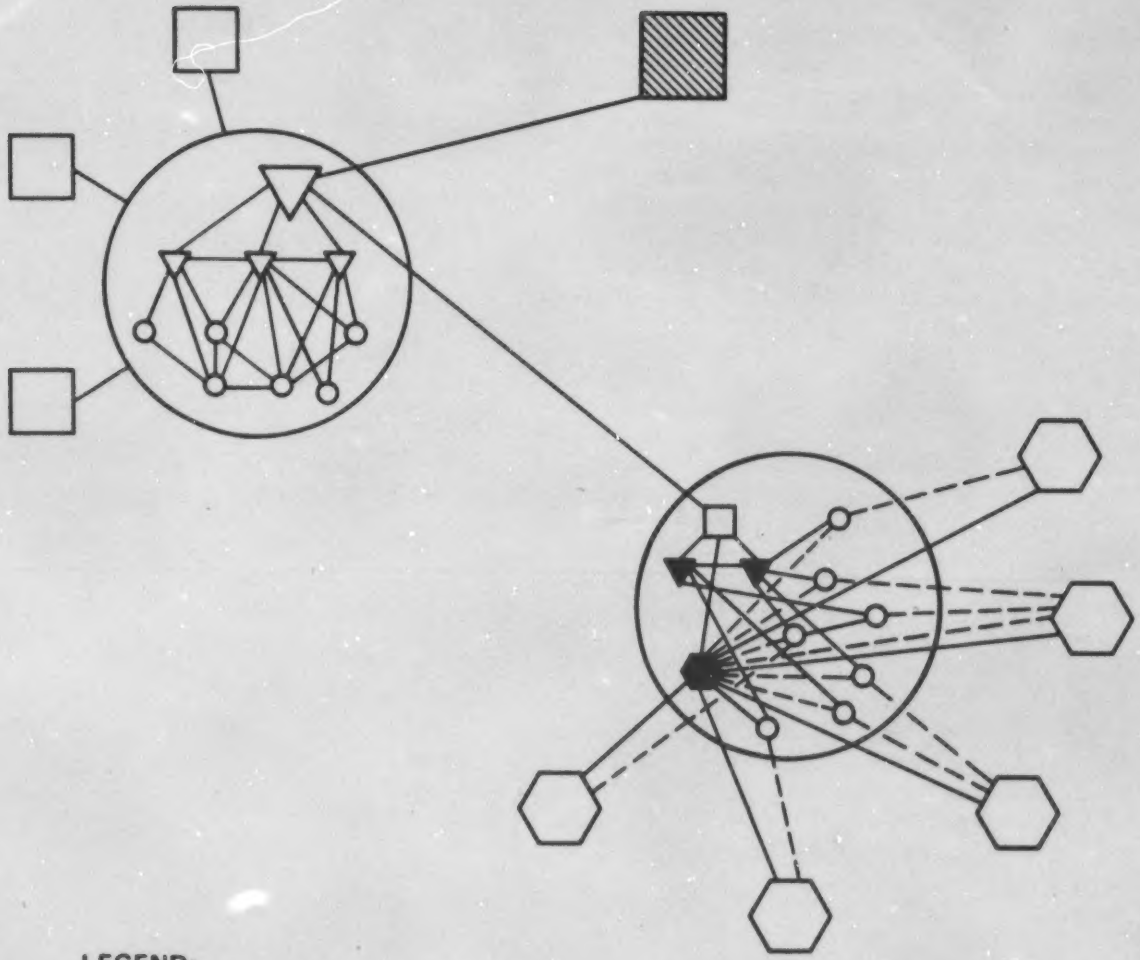
1. Wasson, A Primer, p. 4. It should be noted that there are four distinctive national EBCE program models.



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- Non-program related worksites
- State Board of Education

Direct lines of influence
Indirect lines of influence
Site Analyst—student program relationship

Figure 3 Generic Model: Experience-Based Career Education Program.

vary in actual programs, both in relation to the variation of the EBCE generic model chosen and by the adaptation of the chosen model to the local academic environment.

Anderson and Drucker have described the role of the learning coordinator in the Charleston, West Virginia model as follows:

> The Learning Coordinator (LC) is directly responsible for providing the student with an integrated balanced program that both satisfies student needs and matches graduation requirements. There are normally 15-20 students per LC. LC's are responsible for monitoring the progress of each student's academic program. They organized, wrote, and evaluated all activity sheets. They had the responsibility of managing and/or delivering a complete program of experiences for each of their students. They also had responsibility for dealing with student problems at the work-site.
>
> They were also expected to aid their assigned students in making placement decisions. Since students spent from 3 weeks to 13 weeks at a given site, the placement procuedure was part of many LC student conferences.
>
> The LC also had a major role in the student's site selection. Many factors entered into this such as site availability. At times, there was a waiting period between placements.[1]

The second new role is the role of the placement coordinator/ site analyst. This person has responsibility for the development of new learning sites, maintaining relations with sponsors in ongoing learning sites, and preparing the EBCE learning guides for each site. These guides contain a description of the particular institution and what student activities can be done at that institution.

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1. Anderson, Experience-Based Career Education, pp. 25-26.

Although many EBCE student programs never meet as a total group, most programs have a regular in-house day for students. On any given day, at least one fifth of the student population should be present at the learning center. Some students earning additional academic credit may have two in-house days per week, and, as has been noted, there may also be students waiting for placement who are temporarily in-house.

The Occupational Work Experience Program (OWE)

The Occupation Work Experience program (OWE) is representative of several general work experience programs. This general work experience option evolved to meet the needs of two sets of individuals: the independently employed student who could benefit from an opportunity to reflect on a work experience in the context of a career course, and the young person "stopping out" of school who wanted to maintain an affiliation with the home school and earn credits through interim employment.[1]

Ideally, the students' work experiences are related to career goals, but this is not always the case. Many young people learn employability skills working in restaurants or gas stations. Primarily, the general work experience format is designed to help the student gain work experience, to begin career planning, and to develop responsible work habits.

The model for the Occupational Work Experience (OWE) program has focused specifically on providing academically disadvantaged youth with employability skills and credited work experience. The program is funded by the State Department of Education with some federal vocational education monies. Figure 5 presents a generic model for the OWE programs.

The students participating in this program are potential dropouts both male and female ages sixteen to eighteen who want to work. Students self-select OWE or are recommended to the program by a counselor.

Ideally, students spend three hours a day in special OWE classes in their home secondary school and three hours daily on the job. Some students choose, however, to work eight hours a day, after completing three hours in school. They receive at least federal minimum wages for their work in addition to academic credit for both work and OWE classroom experience.

The OWE coordinators must attend a two-year series of graduate level seminars before certification for teaching in the programs. They are also supervised by state personnel in classroom techniques. The coordinator's major roles are in helping to resolve student-employer problems and to motivate students to

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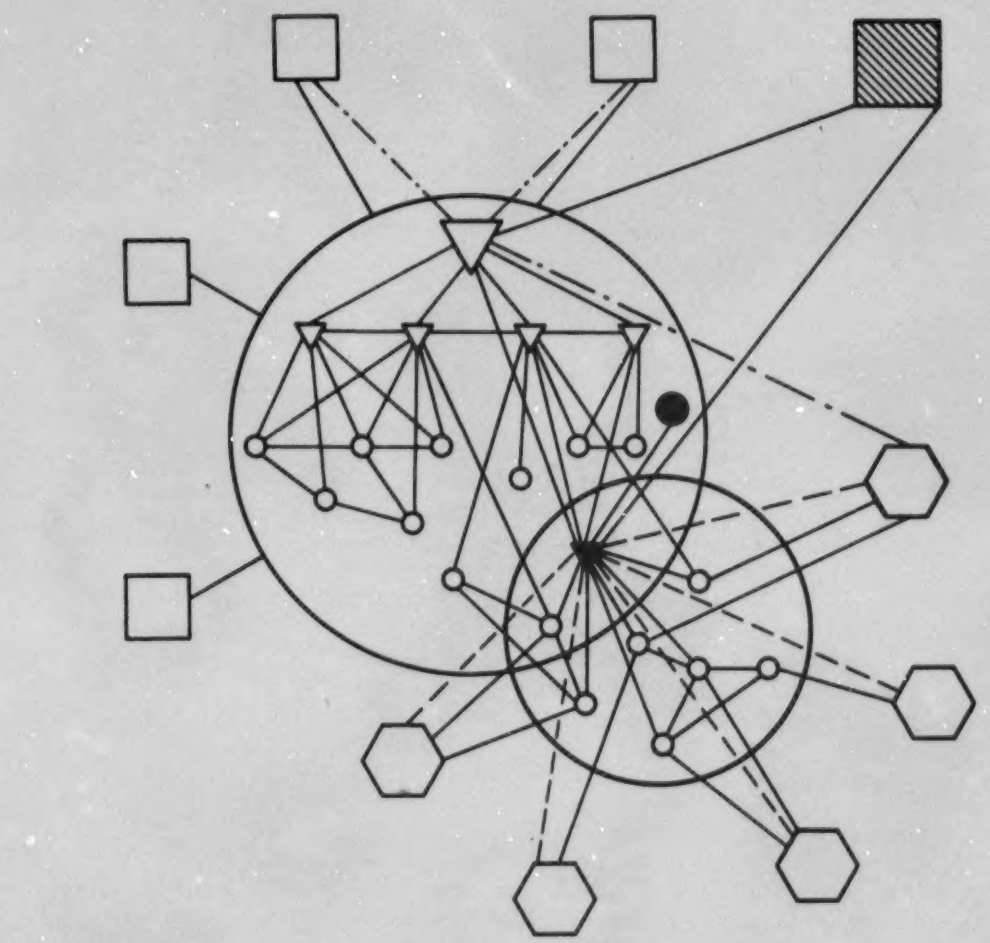
1. Wasson, A Primer, p. 9. 35



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——— Direct lines of influence
—·—·— Indirect lines of influence
– – – – Site Analyst–student program relationship

Figure 4 Generic Model: Occupational Work Experience Program.

complete the academic component of their work. While employers are responsible for the direct supervision of the student, the OWE student coordinator is expected to visit the work station weekly when the student is initially placed. Later, the coordinator visits the site on alternate weeks.

The OWE coordinator is expected to work closely with the school counselors in the home school. The coordinator is expected to have a broad background of both academic and social information about the students from the schools. The coordinator also works with members of the regular teaching staff who teach some basic courses such as English and math to the OWE students. Thus, the coordinator has direct lines of contact with the principal, the State Board of Education, the school counselors, the regular teaching staff, the students, and the students' employers. Figure 4, which illustrates the OWE program, is suggestive of the complexity of those relationships.

The 70,001 Ltd. Program

The 70,001, Ltd. program is representative of several employment, training, and educational motivation programs. Its major goal has been "to assist and motivate young people to obtain and retain unsubsidized employment in the private sector, primarily in distributive occupations."[1] The program provides pre-employment training, job placement assistance, career education, motivational activities, and preparation of the students for the General Equivalency Diploma (GED).

The program participants, called associates, are disadvantaged high school dropouts between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two. For comparative purposes, however, since they must be involved in scholastic preparation for the G.E.D. for program participation, they will be referred to in this text as students.

The 70,001, Ltd. students may be referred to the program by school counselors, juvenile justice agencies, social agencies, CETA, or self-referral. They must, however, desire both work and education for the G.E.D. to be accepted by the program.

Although 70,001, Ltd. programs are funded at the national level through a contract with the Department of Labor and locally often by CETA, the actual wages paid to the students come through unsubsidized jobs in the private sector.

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1. Wasson, A Primer, p. 3.

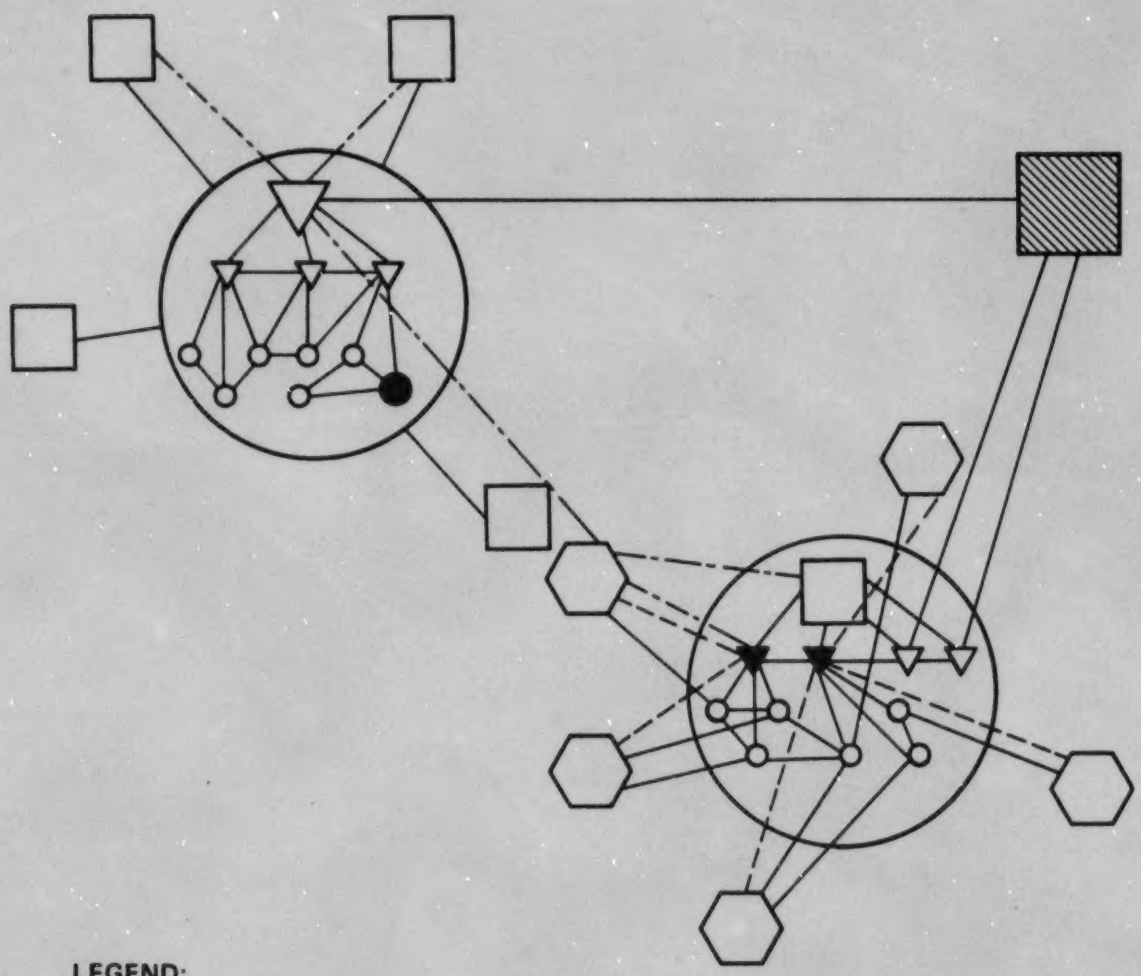


Figure 5 Generic Model: 70,001 Program.

Additionally, each local program has an advisory council composed of leaders from the public and private sectors who may consult directly with staff personnel and even work directly with associates.

Although job placement is one function of the 70,001, Ltd. program, some students who are participating in the educational component of the program have found their own private unsubsidized work placements. Students may remain indefinitely at a satisfactory job placement.

Figure 5 presents the 70,001, Ltd. program. The complete separation of the 70,001, Ltd. program from the traditional American secondary school culture is indicated by the fact that there are not direct lines of communication.

Indeed, most of the staff personnel are not directly concerned with the educational component of the program. The program directors and program coordinators are primarily concerned with the placement and supervision of students during pre-employment training and on-the-job visits with employers to identify additional training needs of the student which are addressed during after-hours conferences with the coordinators.

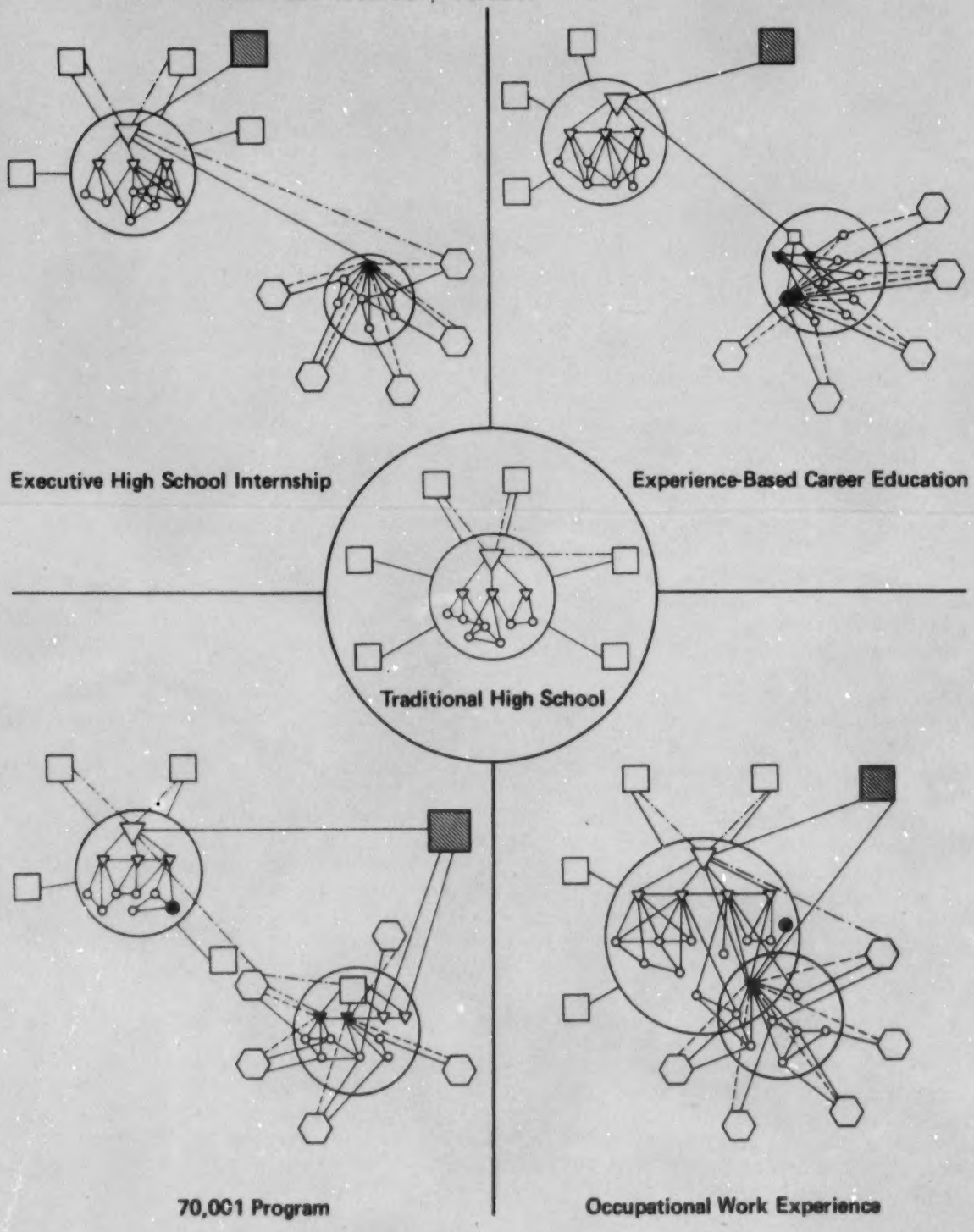
The 70,001, Ltd. programs are normally located in an office-type environment. Often the program sites house both administrative personnel and classrooms in juxtaposition. The teachers, who must be certified by the State Board of Education, teach the basic G.E.D. courses. Students must achieve the G.E.D. level mandated by the State Board of Education for that degree. Course offerings, however, are often given on a flexible schedule to permit the students to meet the realistic demands of their work obligations and still complete their educational requirements.

70,001, Ltd. is the only employment and training program with its own youth organization built in as a motivational component. This youth organization (70,001, Ltd. Career Associates) initiates numerous social, community, and educational activities. Students are also encouraged to participate in local, regional, and national seminars to develop work-related skills.

Structural Comparisons of the Four Programs

This section will focus on a description of both formal and informal structural characteristics of the four programs. Figure 6 graphically illustrates the significant structural differences between the traditional educative system and the education and work programs. All four programs share two common features: They all must meet certain requirements stipulated by

FIGURE 6 Structural Comparisons of Generic Models of Four Education and Work Programs with a Generic Model of a Traditional American Secondary School.



the state boards of education to remain viable and, secondly, they must all have participants in the role formally designated as student. The four education and work programs also share three additional common features. They all have a participant who fits the role formally designated as coordinator although, again, there is considerable variation in the actual content of that role in the different education and work programs. The education and work programs also have formal role relationships with participants designated as work-site sponsors.

Three of the education and work programs are able to award a regular high school diploma through the high school of origin of the participating student: the EHSI program, the EBCE program, and the OWE program. Only one education and work program, however, is housed in the student's high school of origin, the OWE program.

The other two education and work programs are under the jurisdiction of the school district in which they are located as against the jurisdiction of an individual school.

One structural complication of this is that the role of the principal as "mediator-administrator" that is so basic to the functioning of the traditional American secondary school is directly relevant to only one program, the OWE program.

In both the EHSI and the EBCE programs, individual school principals are not directly involved. They are theoretically least involved in the EHSI program, because that program is composed of academically gifted high school seniors, many of whom have already completed the State Board of Education's graduation requirements.

Most of the students participating in the EBCE program, however, are in their junior year in the traditional high school and complete educational assignments for credit which is transferable to their high school of origin to be evaluated for completion of graduation requirements.

OWE students receive three hours a day of educational training in a formal high school setting. They receive formal grades from the regular teaching staff at their high schools.

Students in the 70,001, Ltd. program are isolated, both contextually and in reality, from students who are participating in either the traditional secondary educational culture or in one of the other three education and work programs. They are referred to as "drop-outs" meaning, simply, that when they have reached the legal age, normally sixteen, in their state of residence,

they voluntarily stop attending or "drop out" from the formal classes offered in the secondary schools without completing requirements for a high school diploma.

For a variety of societal reasons, including the pattern of age-ranking in most American classrooms, students who are more than one year, or at the most two years, behind their original peer group often find it difficult to remain in the more traditional school environment.

They often find, however, after they have left school voluntarily that the social advantages of "a high school diploma" are not available to them. Other societal members are aware of that, including members of the state board of education and a second type of high school diploma has been developed, the General Equivalency Diploma (GED). Obtaining the GED certificate usually means working without the peer group support system that exists in the more traditional school environment.

Thus, the 70,001, Ltd. program has a built-in degree of autonomy from the traditional educative culture that far exceeds that of any of the other generic education and work programs. It must still, however, meet the structural demands of the State Board of Education for its student participants who wish to complete the G.E.D. certificate.

Indeed, it is somewhat difficult to ascertain precisely who the person is with power in the education and work programs; that is, with the ability "to carry out his/her wishes or policies, and to control, manipulate, or influence the behavior of others . . . ."[1]

Two of the programs, the EBCE and the 70,001, Ltd., have formal directors. The director of the EBCE programs appears responsible to both local school district personnel and area high school principals. The 70,001, Ltd. director is involved with the CETA hierarchy. The senior coordinator in the OWE program is directly responsible to the school principal but appears to have additional direct contacts with the Vocational Director at the State Board of Education. It would appear that the coordinator with the greatest amount of personal autonomy heads the EHSI program. This person appears to be responsible both for the recruitment of students and work-site sponsors and the maintenance of equitable working relationships with both the students and the work-site sponsors.

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1. Theodorson, Dictionary of Sociology, p. 307.

There is even considerable difference in the structural role of the coordinators. In the OWE program two years of graduate-level training are required for certification. In the EHSI program and the EBCE program, the coordinators (called Learning Coordinators in the EBCE program) are certified in secondary-level education in their states of residence, but actual training for the coordinator position is one to three weeks of intensive training plus in-house training. In the 70,001, Ltd. program the structural education demands for coordinators are not spelled out although G.E.D. instructors must be certified. It will be assumed that they have the equivalent of a bachelor's degree. Their training period also runs from one to two weeks.

Structured relationships with students and work-site sponsors also varies. Persons designated as coordinators in the EHSI, the OWE, and the 70,001, Ltd. programs have direct, constant interaction with students and work-site sponsors and are often directly involved in resolution of problems. The coordinators (Learning Coordinators) in the EBCE programs are expected to extrapolate material from the students' work sites that can be developed into actual academic learning experiences, such as reports and projects.

The most direct contact that work-site sponsors (community economic institutions) have with the educational institutions is generally in those programs where they are directly involved in work with both students and coordinators. In the EBCE program, this function is served in part by their contacts with the site analyst.

This preliminary analysis has demonstrated the very basic structural distinctions between traditional American secondary institutions and the four generic education and work programs.

The role of the work-site sponsors to the traditional educative system also varies considerably. Work-site sponsors are theoretically potentially involved in all five programs through indirect patterns of communication. In the traditional secondary school, the most influential line of indirect communication has probably been through the principal as the "mediator-administrator." No other formal role in that type of school system has the potential to be used in this way.[1]

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1. Both the real and theoretical problems posed by the lack of anthropological research in traditional vocational schools are demonstrated again by the imprecision of our knowledge of lines of communication, both formal and informal that may have existed in those institutions.

In theory, at least, there are potential lines of communication between the educational institutions and the economic (work) institutions in both the EBCE and the 70,001, Ltd. programs The information on the programs (see Abstracts, Wasson, 1978) specified the development of functioning committees with members drawn from several societal institutions to make these programs adaptable to their particular socio-cultural environments. The exact role content of these committees is not spelled out, however, nor is their degree of actual decision-making capacity.

It has also demonstrated, however, that while these four education and work programs are all distinctive from the traditional form of secondary education, there are very real differences in the structural organizations of these four programs.

The next chapter presents the field research from interviews in four actual programs representing each of the four generic models discussed above. The locations of the actual programs and all other identifiable information have been changed to ensure anonymity.

CHAPTER V

FIELD STUDIES OF FOUR ACTUAL EDUCATION AND WORK PROGRAMS

The field study method has been described as a research technique in which the "investigator observes his subjects under their usual environmental conditions of life, rather than under laboratory conditions."[1] Field studies vary considerably and subjects may be aware that they are being observed or they may not be. In prolonged field-studies, the researcher must often painstakingly develop a role relationship with the group being observed that allows him or her to participate passively while still being able to observe the actual dynamics of the group at length. In both sociology and anthropology, it is common to collect intensive interview data in these studies. The types of materials collected depends on both the field problem and the actual field-time available.

Traditionally, anthropological materials are presented in what is broadly termed the "ethnographic present." That is, for example, anthropologists who visit a village in New Zealand in 1979 present their descriptive material for that precise time period. They will give the historical and cultural background that they have acquired from secondary sources but their primary data are based on their personal field observations.

They may have heard a vague rumor, for example, that a factory is to be built on the opposite end of the island and may have some very real ideas of what the impact of that may be on the village they have studied. These ideas, however, would only be speculative hypotheses. Again, their concrete behavioral field data must come from their own field observations. In this sense, the use of the "ethnographic present" is comparable to a photograph--it "captures" the social interactions perceived at a given time.

The implications of the use of the "ethnographic present" in presenting these field data should be noted. Culture, in general, is always changing. In particular, innovative programs, such as the education and work programs, are in a constant state of adjustment to two different cultural institutions.

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1. Theodorson, Dictionary of Sociology, p. 157.

For example, a problem perceived on a given day by the field team probably has been recognized by program personnel and steps have been taken to ameliorate the problem--although the field team would not be aware of the subsequent actions.

By analyzing the actual observed field events, however, it may be possible to suggest ways that other types of similar programs that have similar structural problems can find an easier balance between the demands of the educational institutions and the economic institutions that are involved in educationa and work programs.

Because three programs, the Southtown EHSI, the Northtown EBCE, and the Eastowne OWE, articulate directly with the school system, the field studies of these programs will be presented first, and the Westowne 70,001 program which articulates with the State Board of Education but not directly with the formal school system will be presented last.*

Fifty-eight persons were interviewed at the four field sites. The following table indicates the distribution of those interviews:

TABLE 2: FIELD INTERVIEWS

Role	Southtown* EHSI	Northtown* EBCE	Eastowne* OWE	Westowne* 70,001,Ltd.
Coordinator	1	1	1	1
Students	9 (6F;3M)**	7 (5F;2M)	5 (1F:4M)	6 (3F;3M)
Work-site Sponsors	9	4	4	6
Administrative Personnel	1	2	4	1

**F=Female; M=Male

Thus, thirty-five interviews were collected from students in these programs, but there was variation in both the numbers and sex of respondents at the different sites. To protect informant confidentiality, the decision was made to present the interview materials in the text as composite ethnographic interviews. The original interview materials are available at the Center, however, for examination by research scholar under the mentioned precondition of respect of informant confidentiality.

* The names of the locations have been changed to ensure anonymity. However, all references to programs are to the four specific programs visited. No inferences should be made to the general program types each of which includes a variety of specific programs.

Southtown Executive High School Internship Program

Southtown County Public Schools

Southtown EHSI is located in the Southtown School District which includes the greater metropolitan area. Southtown is one of the more rapidly growing cities in the south. Southtown County contains the northern and eastern portions of Southtown as well as some suburban areas. There is also a large military base in Southtown County which attracts both regular and retired military personnel and their families. The Southtown County area has a fairly large minority community.

Southtown EHSI began in the early 1970s. It was funded by public and private funds. It attracted amny gifted young people. The EHSI coordinator normally works with about twenty-five students each semester.

There are two major goals of Southtown EHSI program. First, the program enables students to learn through an in-depth exposure to the world of work. Being placed as interns with executives in business organizations or governmental offices, they acquire an appreciation of the managerial role through working experience. Second, interns are expected to acquire greater self-knowledge, greater self-confidence, and a set of personal habits that will better prepare them for work in an organizational environment. In addition to these two major goals, there are published performance objectives for student behaviors related to (1) the development of accurate understanding of organizations and those who manage and administer them and (2) the ability to function effectively in an organizational environment with an executive.

The field-team arrived in town the evening of May 2. It was the beginning of the hurricane season, it had been raining, and it was both hot and humid. The coordinator had meetings in Washington during the latter part of the week but had set up a well-structured, well-organized interview schedule for the team members to permit them to interview nine students at their actual work-sites. She had also arranged interviews with nine of the sponsors at the work-sites.

The coordinator was able to meet the fieldworkers in her office early the next morning before she left for her meetings to give them additional information and to answer preliminary questions. Her office was located in an older elementary school building that had been converted into administrative offices. The administrative offices were located in a typical lower-middle class neighborhood some distance from the business section. The coordinator had one rather large private corner of a class-

room that had been divided into four private offices. It was crowded with a great deal of educational material. There were numerous news media articles on the walls about program activities. The coordinator told the team that she rarely used the office because most of the time, "I'm out talking with employers or out talking with students." She also noted that she really didn't need a larger office because the EHSIP students never met as a group in a single school location. She scheduled the Friday EHSIP seminars at a different work-site every week and used the professional work-site staff as resource people for the seminar. She did not discuss the procedures used for developing the seminar schedule or its contents. She mentioned that, unfortunately, the coming Friday was a school holiday in the Southtown County School District so students would not attend a formal Friday seminar while the field work team was present. Most of the student interns, however, were "planning to work at their placement" that day.

The coordinator talked at considerable length with the field-team about the program. She was a mature, open, direct, well-organized woman. She had been a teacher specializing in work with gifted children in the school district before getting into the EHSI program seven years ago. During the past year, she had seen some basic changes in her program because of changes in program funding but her own sense of motivation and direction was clear.

The coordinator was responsible both for the recruitment of students for her program and for the recruitment of work-site sponsors for those students. Her student-interns were recruited from a list of the top 10 percent of the junior class of the previous year. Many of the students participating had already completed all academic requirements for graduation before they started the program. She felt that "many of the kids see EHSIP as a career program" but that her goal was different. She wanted to "widen their horizons to decision-making, problem-solving, and widening career options." She was very selective in choosing students for program participation. "I'm not willing to settle for less than the best students I can get." She looked for students that were mature, responsible, and reliable.

She felt that business leaders in the community appreciated her efforts and she had "good community support" for her program. They had learned to depend upon her. She was concerned, however, about the lack of support that her program had in some of the district schools. She mentioned that some of the students who were interns the first semester of each academic year and returned to their home high schools were probably perceived by their teachers as "being a little uppity and willing to disagree openly with them."

She also noted that many of her students were from families with military connections who were already accustomed to much moving and accompanying adjustments. Many of these students had already had unusual life experiences that encouraged considerable flexibility and personal growth.

The coordinator tried to find a variety of sponsors to place her students with including public sponsors who were future movers in legislation, social justice, and environment and private sponsors who understood the profit motive and could show the students something about business concepts of efficiency and modify their anti-business attitudes. She also felt that, in her own view, there was a hidden curriculum that was being learned. She believed that the students, by observation, could learn much about how the informal structure of the business world "works" and "how to play the business game."

The coordinator had set up interview appointments with nine students and nine work-site sponsors and had also made arrangements for transportation by students to these locations before her departure. The field team was impressed by the fact that all scheduled pick-ups and deliveries for interview appointments were kept by the student interns.

The field team was able to have more extensive interviews with students in the work-site setting and with sponsors than in other programs. Several points arose in the interviews that were considered to be of structural significance. Because of the limited site visit, however, it was decided to eliminate those features which were informant-specific and to combine elements from two or more interviews that were considered as particularly relevant direct quotations. These will be considered as "composite ethnographic portraits" although information presented was collected directly from the interviews.

(1) Composite ethnographic portrait: Gail Brown,* EHSIP student, and Lawrence Jacobs,* accountant's office.

Gail Brown was typical of the majority of students interviewed by the field team. She was almost eighteen years old, dressed in a stylish tailored dress, wearing hose and heels. She was poised and comfortable with adults. She was very direct and candid in her remarks. She began by telling the field-team

*All names and clearly identifiable personal and work-site characteristics have been changed.

that she "had been bored in school because I had taken all the advanced courses that interested me and had enough hours for graduation." She noted that she had been absent "28 days in the fall" because of minor illnesses but stated that she had only missed "2 days from my placement" because of illness. She felt that "public school just doesn't allow the options" and doesn't even like to attend the Friday seminars "because I would rather be at my placement and they are too much like school." She also felt that the "Friday seminar is too large a group. Students should be talking about what's happening but there are so many that the coordinator isn't able to spend much time listening to their activities." Nevertheless, she felt that, personally she had a good relationship with the coordinator and said that the coordinator was "often encouraging" and will go out of her way "to help students get problems straightened out" and occasionally "talks with her on the phone."

She has found her job very interesting. Her boss was involved in many areas of county planning as auditor and she has learned that "confidentiality must be respected here." She has also had some background information relevant to certain published newspaper articles that she could not share with the field-team but she stated emphatically, "Business people aren't all bad guys. I've lost a lot of respect for reporters because I can see now how they've slanted some articles."

She also felt that she had learned a lot about "office procedures" including a basic one: "Don't by-pass your boss." Her boss is straightforward and she respects him. She told the field-team, "If Mr. Jacobs was hesitant about letting me go to a meeting, I'd just spend my lunch hour reading up on it, or I'd go to another office to get information on it, and then I'd say to him, 'Mr. Jacobs, did you know that . . .?' and then he'd suggest that I go."

Still, she had been somewhat worried when she first received her placement because a friend's sister had been placed with Mr. Jacobs two years ago and had had a rather "poor experience." Mr. Jacobs had very little to do with that student intern and "just didn't see the student at all." The student was rarely taken to meetings and learned very little about the organization. That student spent most of the semester just "shadowing" people around the office and really had some "questions about the program." Mr. Jacobs had not been Gail's first choice but when her chosen placement did not come through she decided to work with him anyway because she was also taking "an evening course in accounting at the community college" and she thought the experience in the accountant's office would be helpful in deciding her future career interests.

Mr. Jacobs also talked with the field-team about his experiences with the EHSI program. This was his fifth year with the program and overall, "I have been surprised at the maturity of the interns although I soon learned that skills varied a lot with individual interns" and that some were able to do very "specific work because they already knew a lot." He felt that he uses a "humanistic approach to administration rather than clinical and is willing to talk anytime" about problems. He has wanted to help students learn "to make judgments about what they want to do that are self-satisfying and to communicate better with strangers."

Mr. Jacobs mentioned several times to the field-team, however, that there was no way to stress strongly enough the importance of "the intern-sponsorship match because when you have a bad intern-sponsorship match, the thing you want most to do is to get out of the program because it's so demanding." Because the field-team members had interviewed Gail first and knew that she had considered a previous intern-sponsorship match in Mr. Jacob's office had not worked out well and because she was so satisfied with her relationship with Mr. Jacob, the field-team asked him to elaborate on what he would consider a "poor intern-sponsorship match." He mentioned that about four years ago he had had two uninterested interns in a row and had "almost dropped out then." He stated, however, that his placements after that had been better with the exception of one placement. When he was asked what had been problematic in that placement, he was quiet for a while. He first cited that the young woman, who was an intern, had been uninterested and showed no incentive. Then, somewhat abruptly, he said, "And that's probably not the real reason at all. I was having serious personal problems. Somehow, I'd get to the office and this girl would want to talk and I don't know, I just didn't want to be bothered right then. I'd try to be pleasant and not hurt the kid, but I could tell she was bored and I'd just get irritated and walk out to do something else. I really felt bad about it but my heart just wasn't in the sponsorship thing right then."

He said then that his personal problems had gotten straightened out again and he particularly liked working with the present intern. He finished by saying, "Kids really keep you in touch with reality. You can see their innovativeness. I'm just glad this program exists because it gives them a real opportunity to understand business "

(2) Composite ethnographic portrait: David Bell,* EHSIP student, and Robert Hodges,* Insurance Company president.

David was a good looking, talkative, tense young man. He was dressed in a business suit and, while talkative, was rather formal. His comments, however, were very candid.

He had chosen to be in this program initially because "I had been so introverted and so bored in high school." He stated emphatically that "high school needs restructuring. I was taking all advanced courses and working forty hours a week just to keep busy." He felt that courses were "just a matter of grasping logic, not studying facts" and were "irrelevant." He also found that "I just couldn't associate with high school kids because I could see right through them." He had lost many friends who considered him a "snob" and "stuck up because I was so bright." He also told the field team that, although he was having some problems establishing an identity with adults, he had learned a great deal. He now knew that he wants to be involved as an "actuarial" in the insurance field and he has greater self-confidence.

When the field team asked him what he thought the most positive thing had been about his involvement in the program, he hesitated for a minute and then said, "Quite candidly, I think it's been the possibility to develop a good relationship with my sponsor. Right now, you could say we have almost a father-son relationship."

Mr. Hodges was in conference when the interview with David was completed so it was a few minutes before the field team could interview him. He was a rather quiet, pleasant but formal man. He told the field-team that he had been a sponsor in the program almost from the beginning but that he really had never understood the full implications of the program until about three years ago. A lovely young woman who had interned under him died of terminal cancer her second year in college. "When her parents looked through her papers, they found a college paper that she had done telling all the things she had gotten out of being an intern in his program." He said that "I was just amazed at how much there was that I was unaware of having done."

He said that since that experience he has stayed in the program even though "I feel that it is not always an easy program for the sponsor. It requires much communication in the job and sometimes it just requires too much talking." He also felt

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*All names and clearly identifiable personal and work-site characteristics have been changed.

that "I don't always have freedom to give enough time to the interns" because of his business commitments that take him out of the office for considerable periods of time.

Overall, he felt that it has been a little easier for him to work with female interns than male interns. He felt that "the girls are more mature and easier to deal with, while the boys are less well-rounded and are not general enough. They just need to get loosened up so they can see a broader spectrum. It's hard to get them on a wider track."

He did not see himself as getting deeply involved with individual interns and perceived himself as "something of a loner who doesn't try to get chummy with people I work with in general." He did feel, however, that some of the sponsors in some work-sites would like to be more involved in "planning the Friday seminars" because the sponsors may have "feed-back both from the students and their own staff about problems the kids are having." Basically, he felt that this is an "excellent program for kids because it gives them such a diversity of experiences."

The Northtown Experience-Based Career Education Program (EBCE)

Northtown School District

The Northtown School District EBCE program began in 1977 using the guidelines of the Appalachian Educational Laboratory. The Northtown District encompasses 190 square miles. The heart of the school district is located about 40 miles north of an urban center. The area of the school district is three times the size of that city. It has one of the largest student populations in the state at present; it appears to be becoming the largest. The school district is in the midst of a rural-urban transition with the lower half of the discrict, being predominantly urban, while the northern half is basically rural. It includes first-, second-, and third-ring suburbs. The major population centers include a total of 45,000 school-age children.

Northtown EBCE began in 1977 in three high schools. Although the program is currently housed in a middle school, next school year the facilities will be moved to a senior high school. Although students in the EBCE program are drawn from three area high schools, work-site placements are primarily in the community of Northtown or surroundings. Students are responsbile for providing their own transportation to work-site placements. There are three Learning Coordinators in the program who each work with twenty students for a total of sixty students each semester.

The Northtown EBCE program was designed to serve students with varying abilities ranging from high abilities, average abilities, and less-than-average abilities. It serves both those who plan to attend college and those who plan to go to work upon graduation from high school. The goal of the EBCE program there is to blend academic activities and career-exploration experiences. Each student blends the "academic" and "experience" facets together with the help of the Learning Coordinator, and thus creates an individual learning program that is best suited for his/her interests and education. EBCE tries to bring the "world of work and experience" together with the "world of books and theories," so that each world can affect and benefit the other.

The field team arrived there on Wednesday, May 9. Although it was May, it was cold, rainy, and very cloudy. Northtown was located at the fringes of a farming area. The countryside appeared to be extremely flat and unvaried. Community residents that the field team talked with seemed to be basically middle class people with strong rural values. After the field team arrived, they learned that their opportunities to talk with all the learning coordinators would be somewhat limited.

Because of the program's location, all students in the program were isolated from their home high schools. The learning center consisted of administrative space, coordinators' offices, and a small library for student use.

The field-team first interviewed the program director. The program director was a fairly formal, direct person. He did not discuss the program problems or their proposed solutions with the field-team but he did discuss the program in general with them. He told them that the program was in "almost the largest school district in the state" and that it focused on "career-development, academic skills, interests, aptitudes, values and adaptive skills." He said that all juniors from both public and private schools in the area of Northtown School District were eligible to apply. "During the first week of the program, the students take a battery of self-assessment tests; then they are placed at work-sites." He said that "most students are in placements about four days a week and spend their fifth day at the learning center." He noted that the "students represent a cross-section of academic achievement" but "I feel they all have an adventuresome attitude in common." He noted that feelings in the school district varied and "that some teachers were positive, some negative about this program. A lot of their skepticism revolves around their basic philosophy of how and where students learn." He also told the field-team that the EBCE program had been funded "with federal funds for three years but will now use local." There were no other sites in the state yet. He also stated that students had "both public and private work-site placements" during their time in the EBCE program.

The field-team was able to talk with the learning coordinator who held this position for the entire school year. Understandingly, she seemed somewhat reluctant to talk about all aspects of the program. Her views of program goals were very similar to those expressed by the program director "This program is primarily focused on individual instruction and career exploration, but we do expect a lot of responsibility of the students in the program." She noted then that this program also entailed expectations from the employers "We expect the employers to be open enough to see all possibilities for the kids and to do something meaningful with them." She felt that "we draw kids who are dissatisfied with traditional school, a little bored, and wanting other experiences." She noted that there was about a 50-50 male-female ratio in the student body and that abilities ranged from "college-bound to potential drop-outs." While she did not discuss particular problems, she did note that "current offices are being changed and the program will move into the schools." She commented that "in the students' own schools, it might be possible to keep a better tab on attandance."

She also felt that possibly some employers had some problems with knowing just when students were supposed to be there because, although there were "site visits or telephone calls each week, the kids legally can't be in a placement longer than thirteen weeks and some are only there for three weeks."

She had assisted in the recruitment of both students and employers for the program. She said the same "presentation was made in all the schools; usually slide shows and then interviews." Employers were "recruited through either the personnel manager or president in large companies or the managers in small companies." At that time, most of their work-site placements were in Northtown, although most students lived in other nearby communities.

The field-team spent most of their time at the site in the Learning Center since students were in placement a much shorter period of time. They selected most of the students to be interviewed there. The Learning Center was divided into three areas; the administrative offices, the coordinators' offices, and the Learning Center library. The library was a very small room, about 10 feet by 14 feet, with two tables with chairs for six persons at each table and a small library on one wall. The field-team did not notice a student lounge at the Learning Center or in the school building in which the program was located.

On any given day, one-fifth of the total student population was supposed to be in the Learning Center (approximately twelve students). The field-team later learned that there were usually some additional students who had concluded or discontinued a work-site placement and were going through the occasionally rather lengthy process of finding a new one. The field-team observed that while several students were completing scholastic work and having conferences with their Learning Coordinators, other students were visiting with each other. The field-team speculated that the high school students who were in adult work-site placements for an average of four days per week, may have used a portion of their Learning Center days for normal peer-group socialization activities.

The field-team interviewed six students at the EBCE program and four sponsors. Again, because of the limited site visit, it was decided to eliminate those features of the interviews which were informant-specific and to combine elements from two or more interviews that were considered as particularly relevant direct quotations. These will be considered as "composite ethnographic portraits" although information presented was collected directly from the interviews. Names and clearly identifiable characteristics have been changed.

(3) Composite ethnographic portrait: Martha Macklin,* EBCE student and Jim Harrison,* manager of a rural grain cooperative.

Martha Macklin was typical of the majority of the female students interviewed by the field-team. She was about sixteen years old, dressed neatly in dressy slacks and a nice pullover sweater. She wore her hair in a neat short hair style and used very little make-up. She was somewhat nervous when the interview began but became less guarded later. She told the team members that she had joined the EBCE program because "I had literally hated school." She said she "hated high school so much that I'm going to take summer school courses in order to graduate next January." She had had several different placements since she began her participation in the EBCE program. She said that "I worked in a nursing home, and with children and had learned to handle my temper better." She had also worked at the "City Government Center" for several weeks and was interning as a "receptionist for the biggest grain cooperative in the area. She liked the office work there and planned to take "some secretarial courses on my own." She also liked her present sponsor particularly well. She said that "he will talk to you, even if you do something wrong, he never blows up." She feels that she has gotten to know "my coordinator better and that my coordinator demands more of me now that she knows me better." Although her Learning Coordinator supervised her courses, Martha liked the fact that "I can negotiate my

*All names and clearly identifiable personal and work-site characteristics have been changed.

assignments freely." She did miss her friends "at my home school though and all the activities," but does not regret leaving the school to participate in the program.

Jim Harrison talked at some length with the field-team. He said that he had had seven students in the offices of the grain cooperative since the program began. The current student, Martha Macklin, had been there a little over three weeks and was interning as a receptionist. He had had two students that "had stayed the full thirteen weeks" with the placement. In one case, he felt that "it was a combination of interest in the work and a lack of availability of other placements to go to, that would have been more interesting." The other student, he felt, "had developed a real interest in the area of agribusiness and would go on for college work in that area." Mr. Harrison's work as manager for the grain cooperative kept him in more direct contact with the national economic scene and with persons outside the local area than many of the other work-site sponsors in the program. "I feel that students in this area needed more career awareness because so many young people have no exposure to possible careers." He tried to give the students a "real feel for what a work situation is and an orientation of services that I try to offer my customers." When students start working with him, he "gives outlines, readings of reports, and assigns manageable tasks such as helping compile newspaper information about area 4-H grain projects that I need." He has tried to make sure that they are "real projects not just busy work." Mr. Harrison, however, was not a native of the Northtown area but had come there after college to accept his position. He had grown up in a similar type of community, though, and had been in the local area for almost ten years. He talked a while about the local area, in general, and the EBCE program, in particular, "I suppose a lot of persons in this community really work in nearby cities, but to me this seems like a country community. The people here have very basic values and ideas about things. The people are very individualistic. . . .maybe, self-supportive types and they don't particularly like all the bureaucratic finaglings. People didn't really understand what the program was all about and I think they just don't want school-age kids taken out of school." Mr. Harrison was also quite candid that in the beginning there was "lots of confusion about who was doing what and that just built on to the problems." He still felt that the good in the program for the students "far outweighed the problems which now seem minimal."

(4) Composite ethnographic portrait: Bob Lawn,* student, and Harry Smith,* garage owner.

Bob Lawn was a rather husky sixteen year old student. He was dressed in clean blue jeans and a heavy pullover sweater and work shoes. He was very outgoing, and laughed a great deal

*All names and clearly identifiable personal and work-site characteristics have been changed.

during the interview. He told the field-team that he "had just never liked school ever and still didn't like reading very much." He said he had always liked to "work with his hands" though and to be outside "at least part of the time." He had had several different placements including a hospital, a flower shop, a day care center, a tree surgeon, and was now at a work-site in a local garage. This was his longest placement and he thought he "would probably work for Harry this summer as well." He told us that his work-site sponsor, "probably kept half the old cars in this county going" and Bob felt he was really learning a lot about "basic car stuff" from him. He said he often "goofs" but when he does, Harry will "tell him openly but also when he does well he will tell him openly." Bob thought the hospital job was "interesting but kept him inside too much" and at one placement he didn't know what he was "supposed to do so he just left and came back to the Learning Center." He was behind on some of his subjects and was going to have "extra days at the Center to catch up" but felt that his "math was better than it had ever been." He likes his coordinator and particularly likes to "negotiate assignments." He said, "If I really don't want to do it, we figure out something else." Bob would be very interested in working "with someone like Harry after I get out of school."

Harry Smith was interviewed by the field team at the back of his garage. He was direct and candid but was not particularly interested in "long talking" and made that clear at the beginning. He had been a sponsor for two years and had had several different students work with him. He felt that "Bob has worked out better than the others. He has a real feel for this work and likes doing it." He told the field-team that he had had problems earlier in the program when "kids that were supposed to show up never showed up or they'd show and not like it as a placement."

He said that he has four children of his own, however, and that he "had gotten kicked around a bit as a kid" and that he "likes to help out and deal with kids as adults." He felt that it was good to see "kids interested and alert and that they can save steps by learning the right way to do things." He has particularly liked "watching a kid take hold" and he knows "the kids appreciate him when he helps them do something well."

Eastowne District Occupational Work Experience Program (OWE)

The Eastowne OWE program began in the 1960s with three program, one in each of the high schools in the district. The school district includes both schools that are in the far eastern areas of Center City and schools that are located in suburban communities in the greater metropolitan area. The OWE program in this study is actually located in Center City but draws students from throughout the district. The composition of the area is primarily

white Protestant although there are black families as well. The population is primarily lower-middle class and upper-lower class.

The OWE program is funded in part by the State Board of Education with some federal vocational education monies. The OWE senior coordinator, who has completed a two-year state certification program, has been with the present program for six years.

The five major goals in this program are: personal growth development, job skill development, development of life skills, improved academic performance, and social remediation. The program is oriented toward prevention of school dropouts.

The field team visited the program in Center City on May 31 and June 1. The program was housed in three rooms of a high school. The students were somewhat isolated in relationship to the center of the building, but the program was operating from the school grounds. The rooms for the OWE morning program were actual classrooms. In one classroom for example, the chairs were in three rows of semicircular rows with the blackboard on two sides of the room and the teacher's desk off to one side. The teachers who taught OWE courses in areas such as English, history, and math, were regular faculty at the high school although the coordinator told the field-team that they volunteered for these teaching positions because they "were willing to go the extra mile for the kids."

The field team was able to interview more school staff members here than they had been able to interview elsewhere. In addition to interviewing the coordinator, they were also able to interview an assistant principal and two school counselors. These interviews were arranged by the OWE coordinator.

The field team first interviewed the coordinator, a mature woman in her forties. She talked at some length about the official and unofficial goals of the program. "There are the goals of personal growth development and job skill development and, of course, these are primary goals of the program. Having jobs and seeing that they are needed give kids self-confidence but I also have an unwritten goal. I want to keep these kids out of jail and out of trouble." The coordinator was very satisfied with the support she had received from both district and state personnel, "This district has been active and innovative where federal dollars and grants and projects are concerned. We've also had a fine vocational director at the state level who's been there ten years. He's very interested personally in helping kids." She felt that "OWE teachers throughout the state became very close in the sixties and that that feeling is still there to a large extent." She said, "For many of us, teaching OWE is a real mission." She noted that OWE often had field meetings for students participating in the

program to represent their local schools but she stated, "Some schools really never participate. As close as we are, Center City OWE coordinators just never come with their students."

The field-team then had interviews with two school counselors who worked closely with the OWE program. The OWE coordinator joined the field-team and the counselors at the end of the interview which became more of a roundtable discussion. The OWE coordinator and the school counselors were friendly, open and relaxed with each other and with the field-team members. Because the end of the school year is a hectic time for most staff personnel, the field-team members were particularly impressed at the willingness of all the school personnel to agree to rather lengthy interviews at that time.

The two counselors stated that "we have worked closely with the program for some time," and that "we even go to social activities with some of the students." They told the field-team that the close relationship between the counselors and the coordinators "starts even before the kid gets into the program. The kids apply through the counselors. It's up to us to find out why they want in, what they expect to get from it, and what will be expected of them." The counselors also get as much past scholastic and personal background history as they can. The coordinator then interviews the kids personally. Finally, the coordinator and the counselors "have a good group discussion on each kid. We don't just automatically put every kid that applies into this program. We may suggest that the student goes into a skill development program instead, although if the kid really insists, we try to get him in the OWE program." The counselors felt that one reason for the popularity of the OWE program was that "OWE kids are rarely labeled. The interview process is as complicated as that for getting into other programs so kids don't feel that they are getting into a demeaning program." They said the senior coordinator and her staff and the counselors all work "with teachers to kill the view of program as one for losers." Both the senior coordinator and the counselors suggest new ideas for "program development since the idea of a 'self-contained OWE program' doesn't exist at this high school. We're all part of a team."

At the beginning of the school year, all OWE students meet briefly daily to get acquainted and to "get a feeling of support within a class group." They are also in school together three hours each day during the morning hours although the combination of work responsibilities and school activities often doesn't leave "much leisure time during the school week."

The support that the OWE program received from the school administration was clearly indicated in the open, candid interviews with the assistant principal. He felt that the "OWE

program had been a successful program although there was some decrease in enrollment as over-all school enrollment had decreased. He feels that "the purpose is not to entice students into the program but recruitment is not appealing to all students who would really benefit from an excellent program." He said there "is a real need to get this program to the targeted students." He also noted that one of the real reasons for the "teaching success with the OWE students was that the classes were smaller," but added that the regular teachers of the OWE kids were chosen "because they were willing to go that extra mile." He mentioned that the high school administration felt a strong obligation to see that "regular school program kids see OWE as just another program that we offer here" and that they "don't seem to see it as demeaning." He said the administration works "hard at all students being part of the total school and that assemblies, class meetings, and rallies were scheduled when humanly possible when all the OWE kids could be present." He also noted that the OWE students report first in the morning "to their regular homeroom and then go to the OWE program." He did say that one problem was a fairly high mobility rate in the area because of many apartment complexes near the large shopping center, which meant a turnover in the student population.

The field-team interviewed five students and four sponsors in the OWE program. Again, because of the limited site visit, it was decided to eliminate those features of the interviews which were informant-specific and to combine elements from two or more interviews that were considered as particularly relevant direct quotations. These will be considered as "composite ethnographic portraits' although information presented was collected directly from the interviews. Three male students and one female student were interviewed and two male sponsors and two female sponsors. The end of the school year did limit the availability of students. Both student composite portraits will be of males; one sponsor portrait, female; the other, male.

(5) Composite ethnographic portrait: Steve Roberts,* OWE student, and Wayne Evans,* retail firm warehouse manager.

Steve Roberts was a slender, quiet young seventeen year old student. He was candid in his remarks, but not particularly expansive. He told the field-team that "I didn't like school and I want to get into art school at some point." He knew that to get the art training that he eventually wanted "I will need to save money because it's so hard to get and I will have to be careful about my spending and budgeting of it." He used to daydream a lot in class and had problems with his teachers but he finds the OWE classes are a lot more interesting.

*Names and clearly identifiable personal and work-site characteristics have been changed.

He stated that he "reads aloud in class now and likes the discussions and workbooks." He also said that he used to be "quite shy" but he's not so much now. He particularly liked the fact that he can complete his school work and also "be in the program for two years and earn credits while I work and earn some money." He knew that there are a few students who are in the program "who don't want to work but just want to get out of school for half a day," but he felt that he would "get a lot out of the program." He had two jobs before the one he has held for the last several months. He worked in "a factory where the manager wanted me to work inside where the conditions weren't right." The coordinator talked with Steve about the rules about "student work conditions which were explained to the employer who just mumbled." Steve had to leave that job. He took a job temporarily in a nursing home but was not busy enough and began "working with the coordinator" to decide what he would like to do. He felt that the coordinator was "really like a mother." He said that she "was really the one who knows where the students are, because the attendance office can't always keep up with placement changes." He also noted that "the coordinator helps the students out in many ways and you can even borrow money from her if you have to." Steve did not feel that he had the academic skills to "go to college to study art," but thought seriously he could probably study at a program where art was the "major concern." He was realistic that his parents "just can't afford to help with all us kids" and that he would need to "take longer and support myself while I do my work in art." He felt that a satisfactory long-term job would "help him do both."

Wayne Evans was at the back of the warehouse when the field-team arrived. He was a quiet pleasant middle-aged man. He told the field-team that he had "been in the program for two years and was very pro-program." He also said that "I was a high school dropout myself and completed my schooling in the military." He felt that the OWE program was "good for the kids and good for the employers." He felt that students like Steve who wanted further schooling also got reinforcement for "getting that schooling" when they saw the prospect of his "doing the same low-paid labor year after year" and that this program "helps them grow." Mr. Evans felt that the senior coordinator had been "particularly responsible" in the contacts that his organization "had had with people from the school." He felt this good relationship was important in working with the students. He had always been "supplied with good workers" and if there was a problem, the coordinator was "always available so that we can work out problems together."

(6) Composite ethnographic portrait: Ernie Williams,* OWE student, and Louise Rogers,* restaurant manager

Ernie Williams was a tall, blond seventeen year old. The field team noted that he seemed rather impatient and appeared rather fatigued. He was willing to talk at some length with the field team, however, and was candid and somewhat outspoken. Ernie stated that he felt that OWE was "a good program and that I would be in it for at least one more year." He said that he had not "liked school" and had also "needed money to stay in school." He stated that he often felt in past work-site placements that "I was being exploited and doing a double job" and that the "supervisors were making me work too hard." He had become angry at some past placements because "if I did do something well, I never heard about it, like no one would tell me when I did do something well." He likes his coordinator very much and describes her as "the first teacher he's ever trusted." He said that he "never really got to know any others." He said that the coordinator "showed him how to handle situations without always losing his temper and exploding." He told us that he had been "very impatient and intolerant of people and situations on the job before" but was better now. He also told the field-team that the coordinator had bought him shoes and other clothing "out of her own pocket" the winter before, when it had been so cold and was "the best friend I ever had." He is in school five mornings a week and then works at his job at the restaurant grill "six days weekly." He wants to finish school but does "just plain get tired."

Louise Rogers was a rather pleasant, middle-aged woman who managed a small restaurant at the large shopping center. She was both friendly and efficient. The field-team came shortly after the restaurant opened in the morning so the interview was conducted while she was directing preparations for the noon business trade. She said that "the OWE program has worked awfully well with us" and that she feels that the "kids have much drive and really want to get through" in being willing to both work and go to school. She stressed the importance for her need of "a good relationship with the program coordinator" and stated that "knowing you could always depend on her to help work things through with the kids" had made her more willing to "be patient when small problems came up and to remember that they really were still kids." She normally has the students "shadow" someone in a job for a few weeks and then "take over under supervision" on a temporary basis. Some students continue working under her, but some find "jobs at other restaurants and that's O.K., too." The field-team mentioned that they had interviewed a student that they thought worked for her. She immediately said, "Oh, I'll bet that was Ernie. Boy, has he come a long way."

*Names and clearly identifiable personal and work-site characteristics have been changed.

She told the field-team that when "he started to work here, he was just like a fire-cracker, but now he knows what to do, does it, and helps out with all sorts of things." She also said that "Ernie will probably work here all summer." She indicated that "Ernie certainly has had more than his fair share of problems" and that she hopes he will "continue to work at the grill until he finishes school."

Westowne 70,001, Ltd. Program

The Westowne 70,001, Ltd. program is located in the downtown area of the city. This program had just begun about four or five months prior to the field team visit. It began with 3 staff and five young people enrolled in the program. A 70,001, Ltd. program that had been functioning longer was originally going to be the focus of the field study. The opportunity of observing a program in its very early formative period, however, was unusual and the staff director agreed to assist the field-team with the stipulation that it be stressed that normally programs under six months duration were not studied or evaluated.

The 70,001, Ltd. program has two major goals: (1) to build work skills by providing immediate employment in the private sector and (2) to equip participants with the education required for the General Equivalency Diploma. Additional goals are to increase personal motivation, to build self-confidence and to provide on-the-job training which will enable participants to enter and advance successfully in the field of marketing and distribution. There were thirty regular students in the program at the time that it was studied in May 1979.

The field-team studied the 70,001, Ltd. program between May 23 and May 25. The 70,001, Ltd. program was located in a three-story business building on one of the major thoroughfares in the downtown area and was specifically accessible to public transportation. The office building had been divided into a number of different kinds of offices. The 70,001, Ltd. offices occupied much of one floor. As they entered the program area, the team proceeded down a long hallway. Program administrative offices were at the beginning of the hallway. The classroom was near the end. It was a large room with big open windows. There was very simple, plain furniture throughout the area and fairly simple office equipment such as older typewriters and copy machines. It was not a plush area, but seemed adequate for the needs. The classroom, itself, was set up with tables and chairs that resembled a conference room or an open classroom. There was a blackboard at one end. There were numerous bright, decorative posters throughout the offices. These posters focused on themes such as "developing pride" and urging participation in the events of the 70,001 Youth Associates programs and contests.

The program director was a very attractive, friendly, enthusiastic young woman. She talked at length with the field-team about the project. She stated that "most program participants are expected to be between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, most of them are tenth and eleventh grade dropouts and several had been in advanced classes before they had dropped out." She also noted that "there is quite a bit of variability in the ethnic groups involved nationally. The main thrust of the program was to "pick up the kids that had almost finished their school work and give them a chance to get their act together." Their program had started with a director, three coordinators, and three part-time GED instructors. During the beginning phase of the program, they were holding "orientation and pre-employment sessions every two weeks regardless of how many started at that time." They were receiving referrals from various community agencies of "about forty to fifty people monthly and keeping about half of them in the program." The young people referred to the program were asked to "express their preferences for the kinds of jobs they want and the kinds of jobs they would refuse." They are not asked to sign a form committing them to program participation, however, "until after a three-day orientation period because it takes them that long and us that long to get sort of a gut feeling about their attitudes and how much they would really like this type of program." The program coordinators are responsible for finding job sites and placing students but the actual work for the GED classes is done at the 70,001 Ltd. program center. The director noted that "the students have such different schedules and so much of our classwork is based on individualized instruction that we have to have classes late afternoons, evenings, and Saturdays to try to accommodate their work schedules." A second problem was that some of the young women in the program who were most motivated "were also mothers and they had to make child care arrangements as well." There is no "clear point for program termination," although students are only expected to work four months at one placement. Exceptions are made and they can "work up to six or seven months maximum" at one placement found by the program staff. They want to keep them focused on "completion of the education requirements rather than on the permanent job setting." The director emphasized, "In this program, training is <u>in</u> a job, not on a job."

This was the only program where the field team was able to observe an actual orientation period. The coordinator was outgoing, friendly, and direct. Her opening comments were directed toward the disadvantages and advantages of different types of choices. She drew the following chart:

TABLE 3 : 70,001, Ltd. ORIENTATION LECTURE

Disadvantages/Punishments of Different Choices?

Welfare	Crime	Doing Nothing	Work
Not enough Degrading to some	Jail-freaks Death Danger	Boredom Fighting Social pressure	Risk--physical, psychological, economical, stress Ulcers
No pride No privacy Constant caseworkers Welfare fraud Paying fines	Not promoting degree in jail O.D.	No confidence Crime Drugs Alcohol	Headaches Backaches Might lose welfare

The field-team perceived the young people in the pre-orientation session as unenthusiastic, quiet, and rather weary, and felt that the coordinator was "pulling a bit for responses." The coordinator later discussed this with the field-team and noted that "many of these kids have been on the streets and in the public housing complexes for much of their lifetime and they are both program-weary and program-wary." She felt that "they were afraid to invest of themselves initially." She then said, "I think the coordinator really has to work at pulling them into program participation, but the longer they are in the program the more enthusiastic they become."

The actual classroom teaching was structured into relatively short periods but much of the instruction as has been noted, was individualized. The GED teachers were very informal and on a one-to-one basis with the students. The field-team did not have the opportunity to interview the GED teachers personally.

The field-team had an opportunity to interview six students and six sponsors in the 70,001, Ltd. program. Again, because of the limited site visit, it was decided to eliminate those features of the interviews which were informant-specific and to combine elements from two or more interviews that were considered as particularly relevant direct quotations. These will be considered as "composite ethnographic portraits" although information presented was collected directly from the interviews. Names and clearly identifiable characteristics have been changed.

(7) Composite ethnographic portrait: Debby Brooks,* 70,091, Ltd. student, and Bill Stevens,* manager of a neighborhood supermarket.

Debby Brooks, an attractive, young black woman in her late teens, was dressed in a striking green velvet pant suit and matching hat. She was very conscious of having an individualistic flair. When the field-team commented on her very striking outfit, she noted, "It's just my way of saying I am my own person," but she also told us that the coordinators came down "hard on people if they wore things that were too short or too revealing or too sexy or that sort of thing." Debby told the field-team that there were several reasons why she had gotten into the program. She stated that "I left high school in 1975 during the first part of my senior year because I was unable to concentrate on anything and one of my teachers had said I would never be able to finish." She was "uninterested in the teachers or in school" and felt that "the teachers were uninterested in me." She had worked briefly and then had had a baby girl. She began to realize as her "little girl grew up" that she wanted to be able to give her "a better life" but just didn't know where to start. She loved to read all "sorts of fiction" and stated that her "ideal job would be to be a private investigator or to own a bookshop on the English coast." She was working at the supermarket, however, and attending classes regularly. She had been in the program "for almost seven weeks now" and had referred herself "after I saw an ad in a local paper and saw the chances to complete my GED and learn the techniques of getting a job."

She felt that the coordinators were "always friendly, but that they were a little overly friendly at the beginning when they were trying to pull you into the program." However, she felt that the two week orientation program was good and found that "the most useful skill they taught was how to go through interviews, how to learn to ask the right questions." She had particularly enjoyed the mock-interviews that the students had participated in during the orientation classes. She said, "They're really interested here in helping you get your act together. This is really a good place if you want to do something, but, something good. Period."

Debby particularly enjoyed the supportive relationships that the students had with each other. She said, "It's just like a family within this program. We all provide each other with lots of support. We all treat each other with respect as equals."

*Names and clearly identifiable personal and work-site characteristics have been changed.

She did mention that her first coordinator whom she had liked very much, "had left the job very suddenly." She described her as "very dedicated and very headstrong" but she liked her new coordinator and felt she "understood her problems with work, school, and child care. She was "satisfied with my job at the store,but she did not spend much time talking about it. Her work seemed to be fairly routine but she noted, "I have to begin somewhere and that's what I'm doing now."

The field team next talked with Bill Stevens, the manager at the store. He had been in the program since its beginning. A student was placed with him the first week of the program who did not work out. He stated that "Debby is a bright girl and is doing well." He noted that she always "gets here on time and doesn't complain if she has to stay a little later." Debby reports to the manager when she comes in and then is assigned to a job. The manager said"the first day, I give all new employees an orientation on pop bottles, shopping carts, etc." As he got to know them better, "I am able to judge their talents better." He felt that if Debby is able to get her GED, "I'll recommend her for cashier training if she's interested." He had tried working with other job placements that didn't work out but felt that this new 70,001, Ltd. program had "real possibilities" because "kids that are interested in finishing school and holding a job at the same time are likely to be more committed to a job."

(8) Composite ethnographic portrait: Mike Willtons,* 70,001, Ltd. student, and Andy Willens,*owner and operator, neighborhood carry-out store.

Mike Willtons was a rather nervous, very verbal young man. He was nicely dressed in slacks and a matching sport shirt. He was candid and had firm opinions.

He told the field-team that he had been in the program for eight weeks. He said "initially I wondered why anyone would want to hire me for any job after being in prison and I didn't want to even try." He had been out of prison for about six months "before he came to this program but two other jobs had

* Names and clearly identifiable personal and work-site characteristics have been changed.

just fouled up." He said that his "attitude had been all fouled-up" and he just would get "frustrated and give up." He liked the coordinator and the GED programs, but he felt that the "coordinator's expectations are high and the program takes an awful lot of time." He found that he "couldn't always make the GED classes even at the hours offered." He also found the psychological discipline of the classes "hard because I need room to negotiate and its hard to keep in touch with the people and the activities in the office." He was enjoying the job though, and found that he does "lots of socializing on the job. People come in all the time and talk about attitudes, how to cope with other people, neighborhood talk, and all that." He wanted to stay in the GED program, however, because he is "determined to not step backwards and to keep up my motivation." He felt that he has a good chance here to "take the first step upward" and he very much wanted to "not go back to prison again or be out on the street."

Andy Willens was a jovial, friendly, middle-aged man. He was interviewed by the field-team in his small, rather cluttered store. Throughout the interview, customers came in and out and discussed the events of the day with Mr. Willens. He told us that he had hired Mike about two months ago when the young man had come into his store. He said that "Mike was awfully upset that day. He had been five minutes late for his job at the auto repair shop next door because his bus had been involved in a traffic accident and he had been fired.: Mr. Willens noted that Andy felt he was fired unfairly because it had been only the first time hed had been late. Mr. Willens said he wanted to hire Andy because "I had been looking for someone to help him out a bit and also to be in the store during the hours when my wife was there alone." He told Andy that he had been robbed twice and "didn't want his wife hurt or anything." Mr. Willens said that Andy was the hardest worker "I've ever had" and that they were "going to do some work in fixing up the store a bit." He also said that his wife "likes Mike and feels safer with another person in the store." He didn't learn that Mike was trying to "finish his GED until he had been here about three weeks." Mr. Willens noted that the irregular hours that people running a small neighborhood store "just have to keep" was creating some problems for Mike and he was "going to try to help him get them worked out." He felt that Mike was a "good worker" and got along "well with the customers."

CHAPTER VI

THE EDUCATIVE CULTURE OF EDUCATION AND WORK PROGRAMS: ANALYSIS AND IMPLICATIONS

Four programs, Southtown Executive High School Internship program, Northtown Experience-Based Career Education program, Eastowne Occupational Work Experience Program and Westowne 70,0001, Ltd. program were chosen for the purpose of analysis.[1] These programs were derived from national or state model programs and adapted to local needs and local resources in many types of community settings.

Illustrative structural models of the generic model programs were prepared from abstracted material that had been collected in earlier research at the National Center. A generic illustration of the traditional American high school was prepared from previous anthropological studies reported in the literature review. The four programs were compared in the concluding section of Chapter 4. While there was considerable structural variation among the four generic education and work programs, there were certain discernible characteristics that they shared in varying degrees. These characteristics included a degree of distance from the contextually isolated high school and from the traditional relationship to the high school principal as the only "mediator-administrator" vis-a-vis other social institutions.

While the four education and work programs represented diverse responses to local needs and local resources, they all shared three characteristics: (a) an orientation toward the economic institutions of the community, (b) the inclusion of a learning component, and (c) the awarding of academic credit and or pay.

Two new effective educational roles were created in all four programs: the role of coordinator and the role of work-site sponsor. Again, while there was considerable variation in the specific role content of these roles among the programs, both roles existed in all four programs. The exact role of the coordinator varied but she or he seemed to have dimensions of the

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1. All program specific names and locations have been changed. However, the analysis and implications reported here are based on data from the specific programs and not the generic models; therefore inferences are not made to the many specific programs of the latter.

"mediator-administrator" role in some of the programs and had direct lines of communication with work-site sponsors in three programs, EHSI, OWE, and 70,001 Ltd., and indirect lines of communication in the fourth, EBCE.

The education and work programs also could be considered as transitional educative cultures because procedures for enculturation and socialization in learning and maintaining rules and traditions of the new cultures were built into the structure of the generic model programs.

There were differences in structural focus in program goals, however. Two programs, the EHSI and EBCE, focused on personal growth, basic education skills, and career exploration. The other two programs, OWE and 70,001 Ltd., focused on basic education skills and the development of more traditional work-culture skills.

Field studies were completed in four actual education and work programs. These included the Southtown Executive High School Internships program, the Northtown Experience-Based Career Education program, the Eastowne District Occupational Work Experience program and the Westowne 70,001 Ltd. program.

These programs were chosen for the study on the basis of program age, type of students and location. Students, coordinators, and work-site supervisors/sponsors were interviewed using observer/participant interview guides. A consultant anthropologist and his field assistant spent two to three days each visiting each program.

Data was abstracted from the field studies of these four actual education and work programs presented in Chapter 5 that focused on the processes of socialization and enculturation into these new educative cultures and the implicit mediation in these programs between the culture of education and the culture of work. These data are presented in Table 4.

In the second section, the implications of the three variables structured into the original field research design: (a) length of program, (b) type of community, and (c) socio-cultural characteristics of students in the programs--have been analyzed. The presentation and interpretation of these data suggest areas of relevance and applicability for both educational administrators and educational researchers.[1]

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1. It should be stressed again that anthropological field data are presented in the ethnographic present. It should also be noted that from an anthropological viewpoint, the majority of education and work programs have evolved during the past two decades and are best considered as experimental cultural innovations in the larger society that are still in the process of making fundamental adjustments to their social and physical environment.

TABLE 4 : KEY STRUCTURAL PROGRAM FEATURES

Key Features	Southtown Executive High School Intern	Northtown Experience-Based Career Education	Eastowne Occupational Work Experience	Westowne 70,001, Ltd.
Primary Purpose	To facilitate personnel growth; Students have completed graduation requirements	Basic education skills in work-related context.	Basic education skills in work-related context.	Completion of G.E.D.
Academic Credit	Full	Full	Full	Full
Length of Program	School semester	School semester	Year or more	Seven months
Contact with home school	None	None	Daily classes	No formal secondary school classes
Student Population	Gifted and above average	All students	Academically & culturally disadvantaged	School dropouts
Coordinator/ school staff relations	Often lacking	Often lacking	Full support of school staff	No direct formal contacts
Faculty position prior to new role	Mature tenured faculty member	Director tenured; Learning Coordinators untenured	Mature tenured faculty member	No formal faculty connections: G.E.D. instructors certified, but part-time only
Time sanctions	No	Partial	No	No
Grade sanctions	No	Partial	Yes	Partial

Key Features	Southtown Executive High School Intern	Northtown Experience-Based Career Education	Eastowne Occupational Work Experience	Westowne 70,001, Ltd.
Socialization and Enculturation into the New Educative Culture				
Coordinator	Formal one week training program; Inservice seminars	Formal three week training program; Inservice seminars	Formal two year training program; Formal certification by state for two years post B.A. work	C.E.D. teachers must be certified; Coordinators only have three day training period followed by inservice seminars
Students Recruitment	Done by program coordinators	Done by school personnel	Done by school counselors	Numerous referral sources such as CETA, juvenile courts, self-referral
Orientation	No initial group orientation	Two week orientation	Formal school orientation through school year	Three week orientation
Follow-up	Friday Seminars	In-house day	Consistent supervision	Participation in the 70,001, Ltd. youth Career Association with local, regional, and national meetings
Traditional Work Culture				
Type of Work Site Setting	Professional	Semiskilled, technical professional	Unskilled and semiskilled	Unskilled and semiskilled
Time Commitment	Full-time	Part-time	Part-time	Full-time

Key Features	Southtown Executive High School Intern	Northtown Experience-Based Career Education	Eastowne Occupational Work Experience	Westowne 70,001, Ltd.
Traditional Work Culture (continued)				
Coordinator/ Work Sponsor Role	Coordinator finds sites; places students; tries to ameliorate student difficulties	Learning coordinator no direct relationship to work sponsor; site analyst has responsibilities for maintainence of program-work sponsor relationships	Coordinator supervises placements and helps ameliorate student-sponsor difficulties	Coordinator has responsibility for placement and supervision initially; may try to ameliorate student-sponsor relationships
Student Work	'Shadow' sponsor; define work responsibilities and projects	Follow EBCE instructions perform tasks negotiated with learning coordinator	Perform assigned work roles	Perform assigned work roles
Articulation with Traditional Work Culture				
Payment for Work	None	None	Yes	Yes
Learning of Overt Work Culture	Yes	Partially	Yes	Yes
Covert Work Culture	Not structured into present program; could potentially be done in this program	Not structured into present program	Not structured into present program	Not structured into present program

Key Features	Southtown Executive High School Intern	Northtown Experience-Based Career Education	Eastowne Occupational Work Experience	Westowne 70,001, Ltd.
Traditional Work Culture Demands				
Task Specialization	Modeling; not task specialization goal; some students do specialize in area of career interest for internship	No initial task specialization; if special area of interest develops later task specialization for maximum of thirteen weeks	Task specialization	Task specialization
Mores				
Dress	Students dress conservative office style	Student dress less conservatively but still work-site relevant	Student dress relevant to work-site demands	Students encouraged to dress appropriately for work-site demands; special emphasis on appropriate work-site dress vs. too expressive dress
Work Time Code	High degree of conformity by students. No formal sanctions reported	High degree of conformity requested, but some problems in enforcement. No formal sanctions such as lowered grade or removal from program noted	Monetarial payment lost if student does not meet time code demands and student may lose actual work-site position	Monetarial payment lost if student does not meet time code demands and student may lose actual work-site position
Work-site Sponsor Orientation	No formal program; handled by coordinator	Initial orientation	No formal orientation	No formal orientation

Key Features	Southtown Executive High School Intern	Northtown Experience-Based Career Education	Eastowne Occupational Work Experience	Westowne 70,001, Ltd.
Mores (continued)				
Work-site Orientation	No formal program	Initial orientation	No formal orientation	No formal orientation
Termination in Program Work-site by Sponsor	Normally not done; if problem exists, handled by the coordinator	If student does not like site, returns to the Learning Center for placement at new site	Yes	Yes
Work Force Position of Coordinators	Program survival depends on coordinator skills at recruitment of both students and sites	Program was in process of change at program site	Tenured faculty at local high school	Coordinator hired through federal funds. Original coordinator has left

Traditional anthropological research areas that have not been extensively utilized by vocational and experiential educators were delineated previously. These included the use of the substantive body of research materials available on the relationships between subcultural attitudes toward familial institutions, work force participation, and the role of educational institutions in the society in studies of both urban and non-urban social groups. Finally, the increased interest in research on the structural and symbolic significance of reciprocity and exchange relationships in the field of anthropology was mentioned.

The implications of these research areas and findings are presented in the following section on the processes of socialization and enculturation into the new educative cultures. The implications of these data for predicting both the potential strengths and the potential problems that may occur in any education and work program will be delineated.[1]

The Processes of Socialization and Enculturation into the New Educative Cultures

Table 4 presents key structural features on the socialization and enculturation processes involved in the shifts from the traditional educative culture to the transitional educative cultures of education and work programs. Briefly, four actual programs were studied. All four field programs studied kept the basic educative concept of academic credit for courses completed. In Southtown EHSI and Northtown EBCE, no specific mention of grades was noted. It is probable that these programs are more often offered for credit but not for actual letter or numerical points, much as universities offer pass/fail courses. In the EHSI program, students have normally completed graduation requirements or will complete them the following semester.

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1. The research staff at the National Center acknowledges again its particular indebtedness to the administrators and coordinators of the four programs actually studied. Many of the problem areas delineated in the present study were first brought to the awareness of the research team by these people. Their willingness to cooperate in an anthropological research study and to share the very human cultural problems they were attempting to resolve with educators, administrators and researchers throughout the United States is, in itself, an indication of their high level of professionalism and dedication to the development of successful education and work programs.

Students in Southtown EHSI program were recruited from the upper 10 percent of the junior class so presumably are already academically motivated. The EBCE system of developing student assignments and negotiating these assignments with the Learning Coordinators is somewhat more complex than those of the other three programs studied. Students do have the option of not accepting assignments that they do not wish to undertake and there are indications that they may also have the option of renegotiating an assignment that they have undertaken but the mechanics of this are not spelled out in the field data. Students in the Eastowne OWE take regular academic coursework in special OWE classes for three hours each morning and receive academic letter/number grades of these classes. Direct academic credit is not given in the Westowne 70,001, Ltd. but the program goal is completion of the requirements for the G.E.D. set by the Ohio State Board of Education.

Again, traditional school time sanctions are not used in Southtown EHSI program or in the Westowne 70,001, Ltd. program. In the former, there are no formal classes although attendance at the Friday seminars is required. In the latter, classes are based on individual instruction and offered at many different time periods. The Eastowne OWE program has traditional time sanctions at the beginning of each school day. The students report to their regular homerooms and then to the OWE classes. Northtown EBCE students are required to be present at the Learning Center during their in-house day but their instruction is on an individualized basis with the Learning Coordinators. As noted, they may also have time between placements when they are simply "in-house" with no time sanctions on utilization of time there.

Southtown EHSI program and Northtown EBCE program each last one academic semester. The Eastowne OWE program is an ongoing academic program which may last for a year or more until graduation requirements are completed. The Westowne 70,001, Ltd. program was oriented toward G.E.D. program completion in seven months. In the EHSI program and the EBCE program, students had no formal contact with their home high schools. In the OWE program, they were considered as regular students. The 70,001, Ltd. program did not have direct contact with a traditional school. There was a focus in that program, however, on development of peer-group support formally through the 70,001, Ltd. Youth Associates program.

NOTE: All references to programs in this section are to the specific programs studied only.

There was considerable variation in the role of the coordinators in the school system before the formal program began. Both the EHSI and the OWE coordinators were tenured faculty members. The director of the EBCE program was also a tenured faculty member but the three Learning Coordinators were not. The only certified teachers in the 70,001, Ltd. program were the G.E.D. class instructors who were on part-time contracts. It is not known if they were regular faculty members at other schools in the area.

There was also considerable variation in the support the different coordinators and programs had in the schools in their districts. The Eastowne OWE coordinator appeared to have the fullest support from both the administrative and teaching staff of any program studied. The EHSI coordinator had excellent support in the community but sometimes lacked support from regular staff members such as school counselors and other teachers who appeared to perceive her program as somewhat threatening. Northtown EBCE program was already in the process of returning to a program housed in a specific high school rather than in the Learning Center studied. There were indications that there had been some problems of communicating program goals to both school staff and to members of the business community.

The exact nature of the initial recruitment of program coordinators and directors is not described. The formal training programs for the coordinators in the EHSI program, the EBCE program, and the 70,001, Ltd. program are similar in terms of initial time spent in training. The EBCE program requires a three week period; the EHSI, a one week period and the 70,001, Ltd., a three day period. The training program for the OWE program is much more extensive. Formal secondary school certification is required and two years of graduate level courses and teaching supervision are necessary before certification is granted. All four programs have in-service training for staff members.

Initial student recruitment also varies. In the EHSI program, it is done by the program coordinator, in the EBCE program and the OWE program, school personnel make references and students may also indicate an interest to participate. The 70,001, Ltd. program has referrals from sources such as CETA and juvenile courts. It also encourages self-referrals. Interviews strongly suggest that students in all four programs also hear about the program and "refer themselves" to appropriate persons.

Formal student orientation programs also vary. The EHSI program students do not have an initial formal group orientation. They sign up for different interviews and work closely with the coordinator during the initial period. The OWE program also has a relatively short orientation period but the students meet daily

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NOTE: All references to programs in this section are to the specific programs studied only.

with the OWE coordinators throughout the school year. The EBCE program has a formal two week orientation period. A major focus of this period is development of the awareness of the relationship between the aptitudes and interests of individual students and potential careers that might be of interest to them. The 70,001, Ltd. program has a three-week-orientation program. Since many students have been out of school and have not found satisfactory jobs, this program focuses on both academic re-orientation and work orientation. Both students and staff indicate that many basic work skills such as handling job interviews are presented during the orientation period in a role-playing format that has been particularly interesting and helpful.

After the initial orientation, there is also considerable variation in follow-up or interest maintenance and growth programs. The EHSI program has regular Friday seminars when all EHSI students get together as a group at different work-sites. The 70,001, Ltd. program urges participation and thus maintains peer-group support through the 70,001, Ltd., Youth Career Association which has local, regional, and national meetings. The OWE coordinator does not have additional specific group meetings because of the focus of the school administration on keeping the OWE students active in the total high school environment. There are state OWE meetings, however, where Eastowne OWE students are involved. The EBCE students spend two weeks in orientation but after that only 20 percent are officially expected to be "in-house" on any given day. The field-study investigators noted that there were often more because of factors such as making up credits and waiting for new placements. They felt "in-house" days were characterized by a fairly high degree of peer-group socialization.

Traditional Work Culture

There was considerable variation in both the types of work-settings and the time commitments in these settings. Students in the EHSI program had full-time placements four days a week in professional types of placements but received no payment for services they performed. On the other hand, students in both the OWE program and the 70,001, Ltd. program received regular minimum wages for services performed. Most Eastowne OWE students worked part-time, but a few worked full-time and attended school. Their placements were primarily unskilled and semi-skilled in nature. Northtown EBCE students had the widest range in types of work-site placements ranging from semi-skilled to professional. They were placed at a site initially for a three-week period but could extend that up to a maximum thirteen week period at a given site.

NOTE: All references to programs in this section are to specific programs studied only.

The actual "work" content also varied. It was most clearly defined in the Eastowne OWE program and the Westowne 70,001, Ltd. program where students performed regular assigned work roles. Southtwon EHSI students were initially assigned to "shadow" sponsors and then, with the sponsor's assistance, to define work responsibilities and projects. These students, as has been mentioned, were unusually conscientious and motivated and often developed quite creative projects. The extent of involvement did seem to vary. Northtown EBCE students had regular learning guides prepared by the site-analyst which explained the types of activities that were occurring at specific work-sites and the roles students could undertake. Their academic assignments were correlated with their work-site experiences by the Learning Coordinator.

There was task specialization in both the Eastowne OWE program and the Westowne 70,001, Ltd. program. The goal in the Southtown EHSI was "modeling" professional behavior rather than precise task specialization although some of the students interviewed were already involved in career choices and were actually learning career skills of their own volition.

Northtown EBCE students had very minor tasks for the first three weeks. If they remained at a placement the maximum thirteen weeks, they often developed task specialization competencies.

In Southtown EHSI, the Eastowne OWE, and the Westowne 70,001, Ltd. programs, there was a direct relationship between program coordinators and work-site sponsors. Although there was no formal orientation for work sponsors, they were able to work directly with the coordinators who often recruited sites, always supervised placements, and were available to "ameliorate" student-work sponsor problems. In Northtown EBCE program, there was a formal orientation for work-site sponsors but the role of the coordinator in maintaining placements and ameliorating student-work sponsor relationships was somewhat different. Northtown EBCE Learning Coordinator had no direct clearly defined relationship to the work-sponsor. In this program, another role, the site-analyst, was developed and it was this person who had responsibility for maintenance of program-work sponsor relationship but no on-site continued supervision of students.

There was a reasonably high degree of conformity in all four programs to business mores concerning dress. The field-workers interviewed no students who were inappropriately dressed for the demands of their jobs.

The work-time code was most clearly adhered to in the Eastowne OWE program and in the Westowne 70,001, Ltd. program. Since these programs focused on placing students in

positions in the private sector of the economy, the work-time code was a reality factor. Work-sponsors could terminate the student placement if students did not keep the time code although the mentioned close working relationship with the coordinators probably meant that attempts were first made to ascertain reasons for non-conformity and ameliorating the situation by increasing student cooperation.

In Southtown EHSI program, a high rate of conformity to the work-time code was characteristic. Indeed, several students who did not like attending the Friday seminars specifically stated that they disliked leaving their placements on that day.

Northtown EBCE program, again, was having problems with this. While a high degree of conformity was requested, a few work sponsors indicated that a few of the students did not show up on time or at all. There were no direct formal sanctions such as lowered grades or removal from the program for minor infractions although one informant stated that a few students had been removed from the program because of "absenteeism." Additionally, if a student did not "like" a particular placement, he could simply leave the placement and return to the Learning Center for placement at another site.

Finally, in the analysis of the culture of work, a distinction is made between the overt culture of work; that is those activities specifically scheduled during specified working hours, which in many occupations are the actual hourly job demands and the covert culture of work that characterizes much behind-the-scenes (e.g., at home) work (see Appendix A).

The overt culture of work was clearly learned in three programs: Southtown EHSI program, the Eastowne OWE program, and the Westowne 70,001, Ltd. program. Southtown EHSI students were in full-time placement during four working days. The Eastowne OWE students and the Westowne 70,001, Ltd. students were in actual job placements where potential loss of jobs was a reality factor. Northtown EBCE students did not seem to be strongly involved in the actual work of the work culture.

Learning the covert culture of work was not a direct goal of any of the four programs studied. It logically should have been part of Southtown EHSI program, but students did not report spending evenings or weekends with professional sponsors where the focus was placed on covert background work preparation. It is probable, however, that many of the EHSI students were already from professional homes and had received anticipatory socialization for understanding the covert culture of work in their own families. It is interesting to note that several EHSI students mentioned improved relationships with their own parents as a positive outcome of the internship experience. It is quite

possible that they were able to grasp the relationship between their parental occupational involvement which necessitated both geographic and interpersonal distance when professional work pressures demanded it and to generalize it to their sponsors' actions in the office setting.

The Three Variables in the Research Design

Three program variables were structured into the original research design of this project. These included (1) the length of the program, (2) the type of community served, and (3) the socio-academic characteristics of the students served. The selection criteria presented in Chapter 2 are replicated here.

Selection Criteria

Program	Lifetime	Community Type	Student Type
Southtown EHSI	7 years	Professional Suburban-urban	Above average gifted
Northtown EBCE	2 years	Rural-suburban	All ranges
Eastowne OWE	10 years	Working-class urban	Below average
Westowne 70,001 Ltd.	2 months	Inner city	Below average; "drop-outs"

Lifetime of Program

It has been stated earlier that all the education-and-work programs that have been studied are less than two decades old and are still cultural innovations that are in the process of making fundamental adjustments to their environments. It is logical to assume that programs that have "lasted" for several years with coordinators that have "lasted" for several years will have more stability, however, than new programs. There is one point, however, that may have been responsible for some of observations made at the Northtown EBCE program. The coordinators in both the EHSI program and the OWE program were mature tenured faculty members before they accepted the additional types of responsibilities associated with the coordinator position.

While the director of Northtown EBCE program was a tenured faculty member, none of the Learning Coordinators were. In

theory, it could be "good" to use enthusiastic, fresh, young persons in programs but this would appear to be a unique preference in American culture that is not found in most world cultures. In many other societies, the basic assumption would be made that a more mature experienced person would be likely to have a more rounded background and a better internalized understanding of both the overt and covert cultures of the society and, thus, be more able to ascertain the types of "adjustment" needed to modify a program model to meet the needs of the area. In Northtown EBCE, it is possible that the planned adjustments were made by the program director though.

A second problem would also appear to be that Northtown EBCE program utilized the most structurally complex model of the four education and work programs studied. This model potentially offers a diversity of experiences that are not possible in the other programs. For example, a student's lack of compliance with the time code of either the traditional educative culture or the culture of work may be worked out constructively within the structure of this program model. While some of the youngsters may have difficulties using their freedom constructively, this program provides a means for positive growth in this area.

The Westowne 70,001, Ltd. program was having the problem that characterizes some beginning federally-funded programs; that is, a turnover in staff. This was probably intensified in this program, by contrast to a program such as Northtown EBCE program, by the fact that there often is no potential for a permanent "tenured" type of work situation in these programs. Administrators also realize that the person who is capable of starting a program may not be the same person who will function best in heading an ongoing program. Indeed, it is often suggested that older more experienced adults holding tenured positions may not accept the additional work demands of a new program.

Nevertheless, the comparative successes of Southtown EHSI program and the Eastowne OWE program suggest the advantages of having innovative programs headed by mature experienced teachers outweigh the disadvantages.

The only problem that an anthropologist would perceive in the stabilized programs is a comparatively minor one. Field interviews from both Southtown EHSI program and the Eastowne OWE program suggest that a program can become too stabilized and new approaches need to be tried from time to time. For example, the excellent working relationship of the Eastowne OWE coordinator with both the school personnel and the work-sponsors is

documented in all the interviews. The fact that the principal feels that some of the students that should be in the program are not enrolling could be suggestive of areas of concern. Perhaps the program has become too closely associated with the school or perhaps there is a need for recruitment of some additional types of work-sites.

Again, in Southtown EHSI program, the coordinator appears not to have widespread faculty support in all schools for her program. It is not possible to ascertain the various reasons for this but it is possible to look at the overall problems high schools in American society are facing with decreasing enrollments and to suggest ways that a fundamentally sound program could be strengthened. The decreasing student enrollment has made competition keen for the better students in all course areas. The strengths of the EHSI program appear to be the coordinators strong relationships in Southtown's business community. Many students who are gifted in areas such as music or languages, for example, could benefit by exposure to the business side of these interests (such as music stores or travel agencies).

Perhaps students could be "interns" in the EHSI program but spend their Friday seminar time working on music or language skills. Only one student spoke enthusiastically about the Friday seminars so it may be that these need some revision and attention to keep them stimulating. The Westowne 70,001, Ltd. program, for example, was having considerable success with use of role playing to demonstrate possible cultural solutions to occupational problems. It might be a cultural and educational tool that would be helpful in Southtown EHSI program as well. The early focus in the students' experiences on "shadowing" the sponsors and "modeling" their behavior is suggestive that imitative learning is already a component of the program culture that could be expanded upon.

Community Type

There were two discernible areas where the type of community served had a direct impact on the programs. The first affected all the students in all four programs. A major problem for many unemployed or underemployed persons in contemporary American society is the lack of public transportation. This lack of public transportation has a severely limiting effect on the types of work-sites that are available. This will probably become even more acute in the near future as the cost of energy goes up. Yet, in all four programs studied, students were responsible for providing their own transportation.

This may have caused particular problems in Northtown EBCE program. As has been noted, the Northtown school district encompasses 190 square miles. Students from high schools in three separate communities were combined in Northtown EBCE program. The program itself was located in the community of Northtown and all work-sites were also located in this community or the immediate vicinity. Thus, the program had high visibility in that small community but probably considerably less in the other participating communities.

The role of the work-site sponsor could be discussed at greater length, but it should be noted at this point that the role definitely involved a time commitment. Work sponsors might have been more tolerant and involved with sixty students from Northtown exclusively than with twenty students from that community and forty students from communities several miles away. Indeed, the decision to locate the Northtown EBCE program in the high school may reflect the school district's cognizance of this.

Additionally, there are probably limits to the number of work-site placements that a given type of community can sustain.

Socio-Academic Characteristics of Students

The students from the four education and work programs were from very diverse socio-academic backgrounds. The students in Southtown EHSI program ranged from above average to gifted intellectually. Many were from professional military families and had had many opportunities for education and travel before entering the program. Northtown EBCE program involved the widest range of students although the students actually interviewed by the field-team were lower middle-class. The Eastowne OWE program and the Westowne 70,001, Ltd. program had some overlap in targeted population. The Eastowne OWE program focused on trying to prevent academically disadvantaged (and probably culturally divergent) youngsters from "dropping out" of school. The focus was on developing work skills that were usable while completing the high school degree. The 70,001, Ltd. program focused on reaching culturally disadvantaged (and probably academically disadvantaged) youngsters who had "dropped out" to become stable enough to complete their G.E.D. requirements and learn better work habits. Northtown EBCE program, however, was specifically designed to encourage students to explore a wider range of career possibilities.

The traditional role of the educational system as a conduit to vertical class mobility should be considered here. One potential problem with all four of the programs studied here

is that students could possibly be socialized into their social class roles without anticipatory socialization for any other social class roles.

The student Steve Roberts in the Eastowne OWE program who wants to study art, for example, but is working in a warehouse work-site, will have very few contacts that will permit him to do realistic career planning if art is, indeed, his ultimate goal. He might profit more by placement with a work-sponsor working with window decorations in one of the department stores on the mall. Again, in the Westowne 70,001 Ltd. program, the field interview with a very bright, motivated, young mother who read extensively and wanted to "own a bookstore" suggests that while the supermarket may be realistic and accessible, the young woman might have a potential for other types of career choices that should be explored.

On the other hand, there are anticipatory socialization needs that some students entering a program such as the EHSI program might have. Students entering a program are chosen from the upper 10 percent of the junior class although the coordinator indicated that these criteria may shift somewhat as the program budget shifts. Academically gifted students who are from families where anticipatory socialization for all the work activities of professionals has occurred are able to benefit from this program particularly well. There are students, however, who are academically gifted but who are not from families in which there are any professionals. These students may simply not be aware that the decisions made by their work sponsor in the office reflect several hours of "home" work and may actually grossly misinterpret the relationship of managerial decision-making and power to the adequate prior fulfillment of the work done outside the office.

The coordinator mentioned that students returning to their home high schools were sometimes perceived as "being a little uppity and willing to disagree openly with their teachers." It will be suggested that students who really understood "the business game" would have a more genuine respect for the hard work and effort demanded for the acquisition of skills that lead to mobility in any organizational structure. There are autocratic overbearing administrators and professionals but the persons who really "make it" in the "business game" are probably those who are able to effectively use their power, training and skills without offending others unnecessarily. These are lessons that some EHSI participants grasp early. Others need time for such ideas to mature. This is evidenced by "post hoc" insight as reported by alumni to the coordinator.

Additional Areas of Concern

Two additional major areas of concern for both educational administrators and educational researchers have been delineated from the preliminary analysis of the eight composite ethnographic interviews. It should be noted again, that these composite interviews represented a total of twenty-seven extended interviews with students in the four programs and twenty-three extended interviews with work sponsors in the four programs. Names and identifiable personal and work-site characteristics were changed.

The first area of concern focuses on education-and-work students that were perceived by field-team members as having psycho-cultural problems. The second area of concern focuses on the unique socio-cultural problems of the work-sponsor.

Education and Work Students with Special Psycho-Cultural Problems

There are a variety of factors that have been relevant for students deciding to enter education and work programs. These include a very healthy desire for a more "adventuresome" program, realistic awareness of economic needs, boredom with traditional school structure, and testing of future career choices. These are very positive. There was also a shared dislike for the formal structured school environment that cut across all four programs. There were several interviews, however, including at least one in every program, that indicated student participants were having more pressing problems. The student who was placed at the insurance company--a bright, young man, but an over-achiever--was having quite a bit of difficulty solving problems in peer-group relationships, in relationships with his parents, and in relationships with his coordinator and work-sponsor. He was, simply, a very unhappy young man who was "acting out" in ways that were culturally inappropriate in a work setting. In this particular instance, he was fortunate in having a work-site sponsor who had a highly unusual degree of program commitment and who did not reject the student. The sponsor, however, was clearly meeting needs that went beyond the world of work and into the world of therapy. It should be strongly stressed that the student was having some of these needs met and, of course, was having some realistic orientation toward future societal occupational goals. The field data are limited by the short collection period. Indeed, except in the Eastowne OWE program it is not possible to even hypothesize the means program coordinators have of evaluating additional student needs. It is also not clear whether these students were having special problems in their home schools or whether they developed in the context of the work experience.

It is suggested, however, that in many traditional high schools, school counselors are expected to "pick up" on these problem areas. It is also possible that in short-term placement programs, such as Northtown EBCE program, there just isn't time to identify problems at each placement, although, even there, students who change placements abruptly and simply "return to the Learning Center" may be giving signals about other problems. In the longer placements, however, it would appear that there is a need for a short but structured evaluation by the coordinator of the student's actual work-site interactions with the official work sponsor or the acting work sponsor the student is with most.

From an anthropological viewpoint, both ineffective ways of adapting to cultural institutions and satisfactory ways of adapting to cultural institutions can be learned in any program. Students who are "projecting" family and peer group tensions into working relationships have some personal growth from simply being accepted by the sponsor. Much more personal growth is possible, however, by confronting the student with the psycho-cultural problem in a supportive way and helping the student work through the problem.

Potential use of role playing by students in groups, such as Southtown EHSI Friday seminars, Northtown EBCE "in-house days" could bring up problems encountered at work or perceived at work and "act out" possible solutions. Work sponsors might be asked to suggest "hypothesized" problems that they have had to contend with that could also be "acted out."

The Unique Socio-Cultural Problems of the Work Sponsor

Ultimately, the success of education and work programs is dependent on the continued good will of the work sponsor. There are a variety of reasons that appear to motivate work sponsors into becoming involved in education and work programs and the relationships that exist between the students and work sponsors ranges from very close, quasi-parental to very distant, task-oriented relationships.

Most of the work sponsors have initially chosen to become involved because of genuine concerns about "youngsters" and their future needs. Some have had problems with their own children. Some feel program involvement is part of good "public relations" in the immediate community.

In general, work sponsors in the longer placements who became more personally involved with the students mentioned that the programs did "take a lot of time" and "a lot of talking."

Several mentioned that they had considered dropping out because of the time involved. The covert culture of professional work has been referred to at different points in this report. In some interviews, the field-team had the distinct impression that the time sponsors gave during the overt working period may have increased their workload. In some programs, students had clearly defined tasks, in others, they did not, but the recommendation should certainly be made that work sponsors might be more willing participants if students could help with some more routine office tasks so that the time involvement of the sponsor does not result in an actual work backlog.

Most persons in this culture with administrative background are aware of the high cultural significance of the roles administrative secretaries and assistants have in most ongoing bureaucratic organizations. They often have the broadest understanding of the total organizational structure including basic aspects such as budget and report preparation of any office staff members except the manager. Their schedule normally does not demand the extensive traveling, for example, that the manager's may require.

Generations of young male executives and, now, young female executives have found these persons a virtual treasure trove of cultural organizational information.

In non-literate societies, informal education often occurs while a younger person is helping an older person with less complicated but necessary parts of an ongoing task and is simultaneously receiving detailed information about the significance of the broader task. This may be particularly appropriate in programs such as Southtown EHSI program.

Finally, work sponsors are more likely to comprehend the relevance of education and work programs that are not disruptive of the cultural expectations of work that they adhere to in their own work areas. The high degree of job specialization in American society is widespread. It should be stressed, that for work sponsors, the job specialization of educating "youngsters" may need to be clarified since many probably view that as "teachers' work."

Programs unlike the ones studied that demand extensive time involvement or are disruptive because they do not conform to the work sponsor's cultural expectations of work are not likely to be well received. If a work sponsor routinely expects three persons will be preparing a window display on Fridays, the sponsor will not be overly concerned if one of these three persons also holds the role of "student" in an education and work program. The sponsor will be very disturbed, however, if the third member of the designated work-team whether student or employed worker does not show up. If it is an employed worker, direct sanctions are likely to be applied, such as job probation or even job termination. Educators must anticipate these reactions.

Summary

In summary, education-and-work programs have been defined as cultural innovations directly linking traditional secondary educative culture with the culture of work. Culture change is never simple and requires extensive rethinking and redefining of traditional cultural roles and cultural expectations. The potential for both personal and cultural growth during periods of rapid cultural change is enormous. Successful directed cultural change, however, is dependent on a clear understanding of the ramifications of changes for all the affected institutions.

This preliminary study has attempted to describe and delineate the types of cultural change in four education and work programs which have been designated as transitional educative cultures. It is hoped that further refinement of the concepts developed in this preliminary analysis will facilitate better functioning of ongoing education and work programs and will be relevant for the development of future education and work programs.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

THE WORLD OF WORK AND THE CULTURE OF WORK *

The anthropologist, John W. Bennett and the sociologist, Melvin W. Tumin, have defined "six functional prerequisites of societal survival and continuity." These are: (1) to maintain the biologic functioning of the group members; (2) to reproduce new members for the group; (3) to socialize new members into functioning adults; (4) to produce and distribute goods and services necessary to life; (5) to maintain order within the group and between itself and outsiders, and (6) to define the "meaning of life" and maintain the motivation to survive and engage in the activities necessary for survival."[1]

In all human societies, man has utilized both his physical and his social environment to provide the requisite socio-biological requirements for survival. The choices on how the physical and social environment are utilized, however, are dependent on the culture of a given society. No society uses all the physical or social resources potentially available in its environment for survival.

All human societies have developed economic institutions to produce and distribute goods and services necessary to life, to maintain order within the group and to engage in the activities necessary for survival.

These economic institutions, referred to in this appendix as "The World of Work," are the systems of social roles and norms organized about the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. Man develops technology, that is, appropriate knowledge and tools, to utilize that segment of his physical environment that he can use, within his cultural frame of values to achieve those practical ends.

Finally, in all human societies, man utilizes his cultural technology, in terms of the economic institutions of his society

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1. John W. Bennett and Melvin M. Tumin, Social Life, pp. 45-62.

*The information in this appendix was prepared by Katherine J. Twarog as background information for this report.

in the human activity called work, that is "disciplined and persistent activity devoted to achieving a goal, with the actual activity only instrumental to the final goal of the activity."[1]

American society is often referred to as "culturally pluralistic," because of the size and complexity of its cultural institutions and its subcultural ethnic groupings. An adequate analysis of the new education and work programs, however, is dependent on delineating those consistent structural and cultural aspects of both the educational and the economic institutions of the society that these programs must articulate with.

In this appendix, "The World of Work," that is, the distribution of the system of roles that have developed about the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services in American society will first be described. Secondly, the explicit and implicit cultural norms and values, in "The Culture of Work," that have facilitated the maintenance of this system of roles will be delineated.

The World of Work

In this section, the system of economic roles that have developed about the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services in American society, will be examined.

There have always been a number of economic occupation roles in American society. Theodorson has defined occupation as "a set of activities centered on an economic role and usually associated with earning a living; for example, a trade or profession," he has noted that "as a specialization of an individual's function in society, occupation is an important factor defining a person's prestige, class, position, and style of life."[2]

Social scientists have commonly distinguished between occupations, where persons are concerned with the production of raw materials, such as in agriculture, fishing or hunting. There are secondary occupations where persons are concerned with the production of man-made goods or the processing of raw materials including those in all forms of manufacturing, food processing, and handicrafts. Finally, there are tertiary occupations where the person's major activities are concerned with the provision of services rather than the production of goods. The tertiary occupations include those in government, management, medicine, religion, transportation, communication, and personal services.

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1. Theodorson, Dictionary of Sociology, p. 466.

2. Ibid., p. 280.

There have been major shifts in population in these three types of occupational roles in the United States during the past seventy years. These shifts are indicative of the generally recognized economic transition from an industrialized society to a post-industrialized society.

Table A1 indicates the broad changes in population distribution in types of occupations. The dramatic shift from persons involved in primary occupations in 1900, when 38 percent were working in this area to 1970 when 3 percent were employed in this area has been balanced by shifts in persons in tertiary occupations. The consistency of the population employed in secondary, or heavy manufacturing occupations, has remained remarkably constant. From 1900 to 1970, an average of one out of every three Americans has remained employed in secondary occupations. The occupation explosion has been in the tertiary or service occupation area of the economy. In 1970, almost two out of every three members of the labor force were in service occupations.

TABLE A1: Historical Changes in Population Distribution in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Occupations

	1900	1930	1960	1970
Primary	37.6	21.2	6.2	2.9
Secondary	35.8	39.6	36.4	33.4
Tertiary	30.3	39.2	52.4	57.4
Unreported			5.0	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Data source: 1900-1930, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975) p. 134; 1960-1970.

Table A2 indicates more specific breakdowns of the variations of occupations found in each of the three major types of occupations. The most significant area of growth has been in the numbers of technical, clerical, and other service workers. The most dramatic decreases have been in the numbers in direct agriculture.

TABLE A2: Changes in Occupational Level in Labor Force Distribution:

	Occupational Level	Percentage of the Labor Force			
		1900	1930	1960	1970
Primary Occupations:	Farmers and Farm Managers	19.9	12.4	3.9	1.7
	Farm Laborers and Foremen	17.7	8.8	2.3	1.2
Secondary Occupations:	Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	10.5	12.8	13.8	12.9
	Operators and Kindred Workers	12.8	15.8	17.5	16.3
	Laborers, except Farm and Mine	12.5	11.0	5.1	4.2
Tertiary Occupations:	Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	4.3	6.8	10.8	14.0
	Managers, Officials, Proprietors, except Farm	5.8	7.4	8.7	7.9
	Clerical and Kindred Workers	3.0	8.9	14.1	16.9
	Sales Workers	4.5	6.3	7.2	6.8
	Private Household Workers	5.4	4.1	2.7	1.4
	Other Service Workers	3.6	5.7	8.9	10.4
	Not Reported	-	-	5.0	6.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Data source: 1900-1930, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975) p. 134, 1960-1970.

The increase in the area of service occupations is, however, in need of some further clarification. Service occupations have sometimes been referred to broadly as "white-collar occupations" on the basis of the classifications used by the U. S. Bureau of the Census in defining labor categories. Levison has noted that jobs such as messengers, postal deliverers, and baggage handlers, clearly involve some degree of manual labor. On the basis of his distinctions, he would estimate that 60 percent of the total U. S. labor force are still involved in some aspect of "hand work" or manual labor and 40 percent are engaged in "head work" or actual white-collar labor. Levison does not predict substantial shifts in the foreseeable future in this distribution of the labor force.[1]

It is possible that the continuation of present cultural decisions in the political and military institutions of the society and, to some extent, factors such as the growth of multi-national corporations will mean an actual decrease in actual employment opportunities in both public and private sector employment in the coming decade. Typically, occupational mobility in those instances, is more generally horizontal mobility or downward vertical mobility than the culturally desired goal of upward vertical mobility.[2]

Because societies are always in a state of flux or change, however, many anthropologists would probably hypothesize that the United States with its extensive repertoire of technological know-how will have more possibilities of making those changes that will increase its potential for survival than a society with a more rigid, less flexible value system such as that revealed in contemporary Iranian society by recent events.

The Culture of Work

Several factors that are relevant to an anthropologist's analysis of the culture of work have already been touched on in this monograph and, particularly, in the present appendix. It has been noted that ideally and, in general, Americans only utilize that segment of their social and physical environment that is congruent with their basic cultural value system for them to use. Indeed, societal members utilizing aspects of the social and physical environment not considered culturally permissable are

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1. Andrew Levison, The Working Class Majority (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), pp. 45-62.

2. Williams, American Society, pp. 106-10.

often labeled by terms such as "deviant" or "criminal" or "corrupt" and, indeed, formal sanctions can be incurred to prevent their continuation of their activities.

American society has been referred to previously as a "culturally pluralistic" society and even a cursory reading of Table A2 on primary, secondary, and tertiary occupational activities in the society supports the interpretation of considerable cultural occupational diversity. Work has been defined as "disciplined and persistent activity devoted to achieving a goal, with the actual activity only instrumental to the final goal of the activity."[1]

It is relevant to note that in the United States hundreds of clusters of disciplined and persistent activities have been defined as distinctive occupations by the U. S. Bureau of the Census. There are tremendous variations in the types of activities performed and the circumstances under which they are performed, and the geographic areas in which they are performed. The U. S. Bureau of the Census cites American occupations that can be performed on land, below the ground, in the sky, on the sea, below the sea, or even in other nations-states as bona fide occupations in American society.

With this tremendous diversity then, it is of utmost theoretical importance to the anthropologist that there are certain discernible clusterings of values about normative occupational characteristics that seem to be found through most of the society. The following description of several of these value clusters should be considered as exploratory rather than definitive. Nevertheless, it will be suggested that a high percentage of Americans would concur in the accuracy of these value cluster descriptions.

Cultural Distinctions Between "Work" and "Non-Work"

There are several unique dimensions of the American "work" experience. In a simpler rural America, if a man's barn burned down, most of his neighbors would willingly join a volunteer work task force to help him replace it. Yet, in contemporary urban America, for example, if a healthy young man observed workers on an adjacent construction site having problems raising a particularly heavy beam, there would be no obligation on his part to help them complete this job. If he did volunteer, his one-time offer of help might be received enthusiastically. If he returned day after day to help them, however, the members of the work crew would probably become uneasy. There would probably be a

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1. See Chapter 3

formal attempt to redefine his role by "hiring" him or there would probably be both informal and formal sanctions to persuade him to stop his activity. Even though he might be doing exactly the same tasks that the other group members were doing with exactly the same results, he would not be designated as a "worker" by that group; at best, he would be called a "volunteer." One of the definitive cultural characteristics of "work" in American society is that it is expected to result in renumeration with either paper or metal objects that can be exchanged for numerous products of the society. In a world where historically, goods and services have normatively been exchanged directly or bartered indirectly, this is already culturally different interpretation of the rewards of "work," directly linked to the European connections of early American society.

The Formal Structuring of Time in the Work Environment

An additional component of the American "work" culture is its emphasis on the formal structuring of time in relation to most occupations in the society. Folk axioms such as "Time is money," "Don't waste time," "Time flies," "Time's a-wastin'," are familiar to most Americans. In many American work environments, it is mandatory that an employee arrive punctually "on time" and a "time-clock" may even be punched to confirm this. On the other hand, an employer may often deplore the fact that an employee is a "clock-watcher" who wants to leave as promptly when the contractual hours have been completed. A high percentage of persons in clerical, retail, trade, and industrial positions find that the idea of one hour for lunch and two fifteen minute coffee breaks is structured into the working day. Yet, Americans traveling or working abroad are often dramatically confronted with the reality that our cultural conception of a twenty-four hour day, with sixty minutes in each hour, seven days in a week, fifty-two weeks a year, is more heeded in the abstract than in the day-to-day working environment in other cultures. There is no intrinsic reason why the normal working day is considered to be from approximately 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. and the normal work week from Monday through Friday as it is in American society. Americans know that many jobs do not meet these requirements. Indeed, several American businesses, (i.e., economic institutions) are open during evening hours and weekend hours to meet the needs of those persons who are at work-sites in other economic institutions in the culture during the Monday-Friday daytime hours. The persons occupying work-positions in these auxiliary institutions have very different schedules.

The formal transactions of major American economic institutions, however, are primarily done during the indicated time periods and, indeed, it is precisely these rigorous time periods that ultimately facilitate the conducting of transactions across a country that stretches over 3,000 miles.

The Expectation of Monolingual Business Transactions

An additional cultural fact of the "work" world in American society is that transactions are basically monolingual and the language of communication used is English. While there have always been, historically, subcultural groups who do not use English as the language of communication in their homes and delimited ethnic communities, members of those groups desiring upward mobility must participate in the major American economic institutions in tasks requiring extensive communication and must have a fluent command of English as well as their native language.[1]

Role Specializations: "Jobs" and "Professions"

An additional cultural fact is that within a given economic institution, such as an electronics corporation or a retail grocery store chain, there is a high degree of specialization on individual tasks necessary for the functioning of the total institution. "Job descriptions" or "job specifications" seem to be becoming increasingly rigorous. Again, this is particularly true in the larger economic institutions. People usually do not cross-over into another person's designated "job" area. Normally, there is also both a social-class and educational component in work demands and working conditions associated with the different tasks that are clustered into a "job."

Thus, a person who is academically disadvantaged is more likely to be found doing a delimited number of tasks, repeatedly, such as a shipping clerk or an assembly line worker, that are highly structured and repetitive. An accountant, a systems analyst, a chemist, and even an administrator might also perform a delimited number of tasks that are highly structured and repetitive. Their tasks, however, have usually required much more formal training and education, such as undergraduate and graduate degrees. Their "jobs" which are often referred to as "professions" have a covert distinction from the first "jobs" described. This is the fact that their completion of "job-related work" and their continuation of their "job-related skills" are not always done in the geographic environment of the institution where they complete their daytime responsibilities.

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1. The need, however, for greater foreign language skills has been specifically stressed in the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. James A. Perkins, Chairman, Strength Through Wisdom: A Critique of U. S. Capability, Final Report, President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1979).

Incongruencies in the Overt and Covert Cultural Work Roles in the Professions

In American society, "professional" workers usually have work roles that entail actual physical travel away from their home community and home economic institutions. They also usually have work roles that demand extensive hours of work in a quieter, more isolated environment in preparation for overt work performance in their economic institutions during the structured forty to forty-five hour work week typical for much of the American work force. The statement, "I have to get away from the office to get anything done," is a common one in many American work settings. It should be stressed that advancement and financial reward are linked to the performance of both overt and covert tasks relevant to a specific career pattern.

An additional cultural demand of the economic institutions is often the willingness of the professional worker to accept geographic relocation as a condition for career advancement and additional financial rewards.

Finally, the fact that many "professionals" complete the covert part of their work responsibilities outside the context of the formal 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. working day and the Monday through Friday working week of the formal economic institutions means that those tasks are completed during time periods when demands from other institutions in the society, such as the family, must also be met. In addition, "professionals" are often expected to be available to handle "emergencies" related to their economic institutions as these arise.

Overt and Covert Anticipatory Socialization of Children of Professional Parents

American scholars in the theoretical and applied social sciences have often stated that children of professional parents are not acquainted with the work world of their parents in the way that children of parents owning a small business or family farm might be. It will be argued here that this is only partially true. What the children of professional parents are aware of, regardless of the "profession," is that professional parents may often be unable to participate in formal family, church, or school events that might be important to the child because of "work" problems. They also understand, in many cases, that these parents may be "home" physically, but still unavailable because they are in their personal professional work areas in the home, often called offices or studies, completing the covert requirements of their profession.

The children of these parents may not be involved in or even understand the overt activities of their parents' economic institutions but they have certainly had socialization and enculturation into acceptance of the covert requirements of the parents' economic roles.

Finally, the children of professional parents are often perceived as the major recipients of the rewards of this system. Access to living in geographically "more desirable" areas, better clothing, better schooling, trips to Disneyland, are all part of the "rewards" or "compensation" given the children for the extensive period of time that professional parents are away or present but unavailable.

Socialization Experiences of Children of Parents with Congruent Overt and Covert Work Expectations

By contrast, children in families where parental occupations have traditionally been referred to as "jobs" rather than "professions" have a different cultural reality due to their parents' occupations in societal economic institutions. The overt work schedule for their parents corresponds to the actual work schedule. It often is the common 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Monday through Friday work week, but, even if the schedule for performance of work tasks is different, i.e., evening nurse at a hospital, or evening projectionist at a movie theater, the overt work schedule still corresponds to the actual work schedule.

Their parents routinely do not "bring their work home." Their parents are also less likely to be geographically mobile and to have relatives in the immediate area. Normally, the potential financial rewards are not as great for the "job-oriented" parents by contrast to the "profession-oriented" parents, but there is a potential for a greater predictable time involvement with the children. If there are relatives in the area, the likelihood of a network of "supportive services" is more likely to have developed and services such as child-care, minor automobile and house repairs may be performed as exchange services where no money is directly involved.[1]

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1. Marvin Sussman and Lee Burchinal, "Kin Family Network: Unheralded Structure in Current Conceptualizations of Family Functioning," Marriage and Family Living 24 (1962):231-40.

Occupational Symbolism in "Work" Garments

Still, one more cultural factor must be examined in relation to the American "work" environment. This factor is the symbolic and actual role garments play in the work environment.

The traditional distinction between "blue-collar" workers and "white-collar" workers is familiar to most Americans. The term "blue-collar" of course reflects the logical fact that persons involved in manual labor must wear exterior garments suitable to their work tasks. Many "jobs" in our society require the wearing of precise garments specifically for the overt symbolization of the relevant work-task occupation of the wearer that are not necessary for the actual work tasks involved. The most dramatic example of this is probably the policeman's uniform. There is no inherent reason why a police officer could not come to work in blue jeans and a turtle-neck sweater or in a Brooks Brothers suit or a Givenchy gown. Indeed, "undercover" officers specifically do not wear uniforms and yet complete the assigned work tasks. The policeman's garment, however, is a visible symbol of his role in enforcing the legal sanctions of the society and is indicative of the power of the greater society behind those laws and sanctions, and his cultural role is instantly identifiable to most adult Americans.

Rules and regulations regarding dress in business institutions, so-called "white collar" garments, are less overt. They are a cultural reality, however. There is no explicit cultural rule that a young management trainee could not come to work in a dirty suit with a spotted tie, long unkempt hair, and cowboy boots or in a short mini-skirt or a full-length maxi-skirt. The trainee could be meeting all of the other overt and covert demands for professional advancement as well. Yet in many economic institutions, the trainee would be in "violation" of the covert cultural norms.

On the other hand, persons in certain occupations, such as the performing and applied arts, or having certain ascribed status because of inherited wealth, are almost expected to wear more "expressive" garments. . . .and to have a highly individualistic dress-style. An "original" garment created by a recognized "designer" may be demanded in actual "work" performances.

Finally, fashions in work garments do tend to be related to the physical environment of the work setting. While, at present, women's suits are considered slightly more "appropriate" in some work settings than the pants suits that many women prefer, this fashion could change dramatically if federal heating regulations are enforced. Overall, there is more flexibility in dress garments for both males and females in the "professional" or "white-collar" occupations, but here is still a preference for conservative versus expressive clothing in the work environment.

Cultural Factors in Work-Role Termination

A final cultural reality of the American "work experience" should be noted. Failure to comply with work-role expectations can result in the direct termination of a person's participation in a work-role in a particular economic institution. There are considerable variations, however, in how these work-roles can be terminated. Termination of employment is comparatively rare in non-politically related, tenured work-occupations in public economic institutions whether on national, state, or local levels. Career advancement may be halted and indirect sanctions imposed, but actual work termination is rare. It is also less frequent with union members in work occupations in private economic institutions. There is considerable job-stability built into these work-occupations.

On the other hand, work termination can be very immediate in many private economic institutions and the work-role occupant has very limited protection. Work termination can also result from different cultural factors. With rapid technological change in many economic institutions, a learned work role may no longer be needed in the economic institutions of the society. In private economic institutions where the cultural form of economic production and distribution is capitalistic and not under direct government control in American society, private economic institutions may merge, and two persons possessing equivalent work-skills may be in competition for the one work-role position available. Thus the employment of one may be terminated.

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